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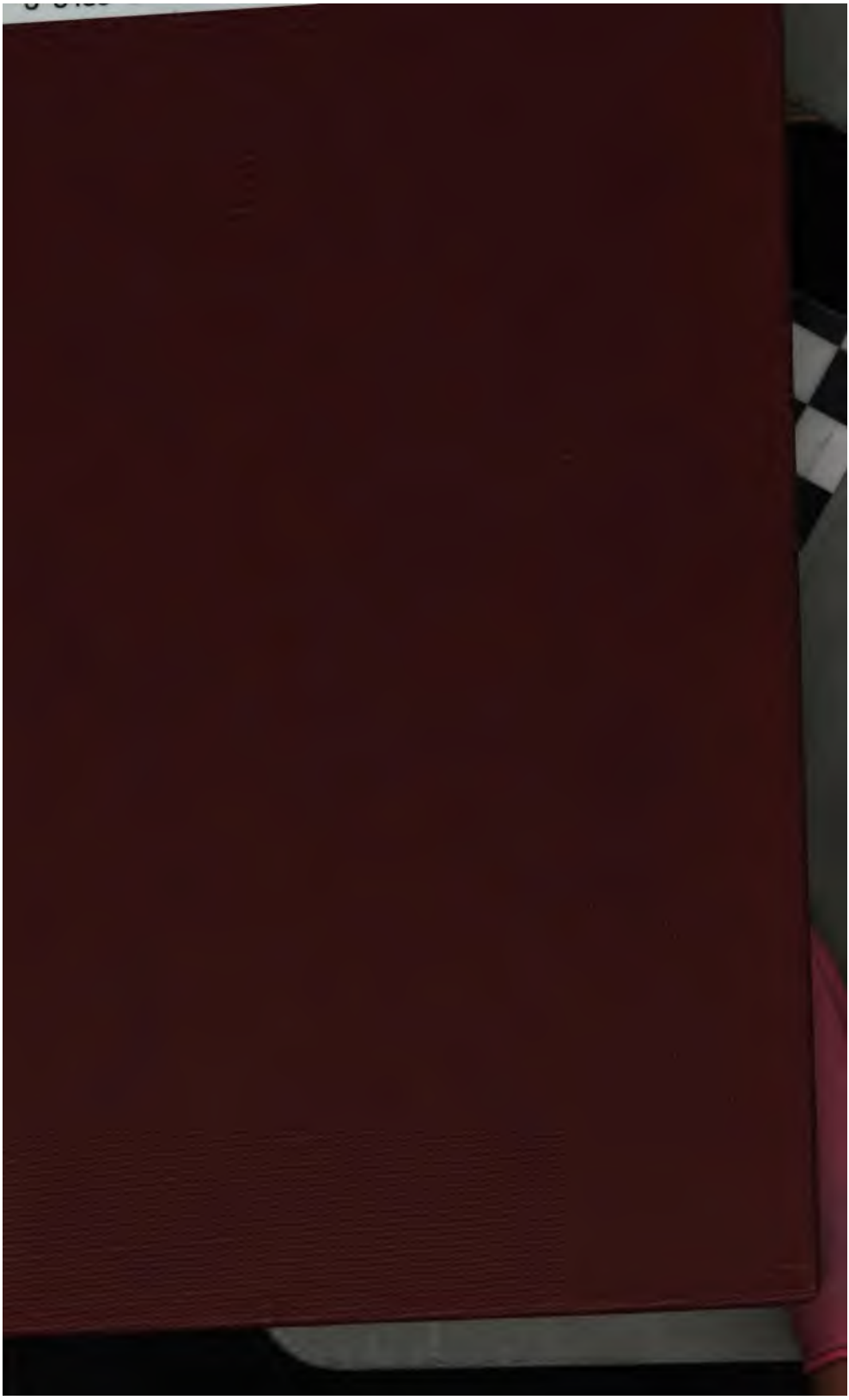

THE WORKS

OF

BISHOP COSIN.

THE

WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

JOHN COSIN,

LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

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VOLUME THE FIRST.

SERMONS.

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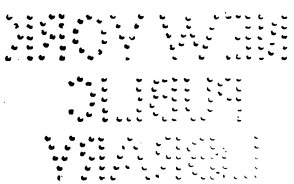

OXFORD:
PRINTED BY I. SHRIMPTON.

PREFACE.

Bishop Cosin, the faithful and trusted adherent of King Charles the Martyr, the friend of Montague and Laud, the first who was deprived of his dignities in the University of Cambridge, and sequestered from his ecclesiastical benefices by the puritan faction, was no less distinguished by his unrivalled Annotations upon the Book of Common Prayer, than by his general powers as a controversialist. The writings of this eminent and illustrious person will be always, therefore, interesting, both to those who value his piety, judgment, and learning, as well as those who study his life and character. Some surprise has been consequently excited that his works have not been published[a] in a collected form. The present is the first attempt made to supply this deficiency.

The editor, although he has laboured under many difficulties in collecting the scattered works of Bishop Cosin, has still enjoyed many and important advantages. He begs leave in the first place to offer his thanks to the Warden and Senate of the University of Durham for their kindness

[a] In 1692, about twenty years after the death of Bishop Cosin, Dr. Thomas Smith, anxious, as he informs us, that the theological writings of such an eminent Divine should not be permitted to remain in obscurity, contemplated the publication of such of them as were then unprinted. Adverse circumstances interrupted the execution of this project, and it was ultimately abandoned. The manuscripts collected by Smith for this purpose (which are neither numerous nor very important), are deposited in the Bodleian Library, and have been employed in the formation of the present edition.

in permitting him to make use of transcripts of some of the unprinted remains of Bishop Cosin, which are to be found in their Library. To the Venerable Charles Thorp, D.D., Archdeacon of Durham, and the Venerable W. F. Raymond, M.A., Archdeacon of Northumberland, the official Trustees of the Library bequeathed by Bishop Cosin to the clergy of the diocese of Durham, he is indebted for the opportunity of examining at his leisure the Bishop's Correspondence, his Notes on the Common Prayer, and various other manuscripts. His warmest gratitude is due to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, for their kindness in affording him the privilege of inspecting the Registers and other private documents belonging to that Cathedral Church, with which Cosin was intimately connected, first as Prebendary and afterwards as Bishop, for nearly half a century. And by the liberality of the same body, he is now enabled to lay before the public the Sermons[b] which are contained in the present volume.

These Sermons embrace a period of time extending from 1621 to 1659, the first having been preached shortly after his admission into Holy Orders, and the last not long before his return from his seventeen years' exile. Although allusion is made to several others[c], these are the only Sermons which are preserved. Having been preached for the most part upon the festivals of the Church, they are intended to illustrate the events which the services of the day commemorate[d]. They advocate with much skill and learning, and with no inconsiderable powers of eloquence, the truths of the Gospel as exhibited in the doctrines of the Church of England; opposing the erroneous extremes of modern Romanism

[b] The original Sermons are bound up into one small volume and are marked A. iv. 31. It does not appear how they came into the possession of Dr. George Smith, Prebendary of Durham, by whom they were presented to the Library of the Dean and Chapter.

[c] See Evelyn's Memoirs, i. 241, 247; and the present volume, p. 131, 248.

[d] See p. 1, 44, 206, 323, &c. Finita concione, quæ partem aliquam vel Evangelii vel Epistolæ, vel alterius loci S. Scripturæ et explicare et applicare solet . . . Cosin. de Eccl. Anglicanæ religione &c., cap. xvi.

on the one hand, and of Dissent on the other. The wide extent of their author's reading [e] in almost every department of literature enabled him to illustrate his subject from a variety of sources; but it is obvious that the exegetical and dogmatical teaching of the Primitive Church formed his chief study [f]. Traces of his acquaintance with the writings of Hooker [g], and yet more frequently with those of Andrewes [h], are perceptible. It is no less difficult to imagine how the individual by whom they were preached should have been 'looked upon as popishly affected,' than to reconcile some opinions and practices attributed to him, with the general tendency of their doctrines.

The editor originally intended to have prefixed a Life of Bishop Cosin, but circumstances occurred which induced him to reserve for another part of the work the various notices which he had collected; and instead of an original memoir, to substitute that which had appeared in the [i] Biographia Britannica. This narrative, although not without its faults and its omissions, gives a tolerably accurate account of the events of the Bishop's life. It is compiled [k] chiefly from the following sources.

"The dead man's real speech, a funeral sermon preached

[e] It would appear that the Bishop frequently quoted from memory, and sometimes fell into errors by so doing. Thus, for example, he cites as from the Psalms a text which is taken from the Canticles, (p. 327,) and ascribes (p. 145.) to Euripides a passage from Menander, (Meineke, Fragm. Comic. Græc. iv. 76. ed. Berol. 1841.)

[f] One peculiarity in their structure seems worthy of notice. The preacher commences with some observations for the purpose of connecting the subject-matter of the sermon with the peculiar services of the day; he then introduces the Bidding-Prayer, and the text then follows. Instances of this arrangement are to be found in the sermons of Bishop Andrewes (Serm. ii. 39, 101; iii. 131, 203.) and a few other divines (Heylyn's Tracts, p. 153), as Basire, in the Funeral Sermon reprinted in this volume (Pref. p. xxxvi.); but later examples are probably uncommon.

[g] See p. 101, 103.

[h] Besides the instances pointed out at p. 103, 104, 124, &c., compare p. 60. with Andr. Serm. v. 498; p. 76 with Andr. v. 522; p. 202 with Andr. iii. 64; p. 257 with Andr. iii. 65; p. 117 with Andr. iii. 130, &c. The connexion between Andrewes and Cosin is mentioned in the Life in this volume, p. xiii.

[i] Edit. 1750. p. 1474. The edition of the dissenter Kippis should be used with caution, as he did not scruple, when it suited his purpose, to mutilate the text which he professed to reprint.

[k] The fragment of Cosin's autobiography, which is preserved among the Tanner MSS., and printed by Gutch in his Collectanea Curiosa, ii. 19, was unknown to the writer of the memoir here reprinted.

on Heb. xi. 4, upon the 29th of April, 1672[l], together with a brief of the life, dignities, benefactions, principal actions and sufferings, and of the death of the said late Lord Bishop of Durham; published (upon earnest request) by Isaac Basire, D.D., chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, and Archdeacon of Northumberland." 8vo. Lond. 1673.

Basire had ample opportunities of knowing the truth of what he has here recorded. In 1632 he accompanied Morton, whose chaplain he then was, into the diocese of Durham[m]; and the intercourse with Cosin which then commenced, was continued from that period almost without interruption. In 1636 he was presented by Morton to the rectory of Egglesclif[n]; on December 12, 1643, he was collated to the seventh stall in the Cathedral Church of Durham[o]; and in 1644 he was appointed archdeacon of Northumberland[p]. In the rebellion which followed, he was driven from his preferments and compelled to reside abroad, exposed, like Cosin, to many privations, and, like him, steadfast to the faith of his fathers. When Cosin became bishop of Durham, Basire returned to his archdeaconry, in fulfilling the duties of which he was necessarily brought into close and frequent intercourse with his diocesan. These circumstances carrying his recollections back over a space of forty years, stamp much value upon his memoir; but unfortunately, from its discursive style it contains less information than might reasonably have been anticipated.

'Vita reverendissimi et eruditissimi viri Joannis Cosin, episcopi Dunelmensis, scriptore Thoma Smitho, S. Theologiæ Doctore et Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ presbytero;' inserted in Smith's 'Vitæ quorumdam eruditissimorum virorum,' 4to. Lond. 1707.

[l] See the present volume, p. xxxix.
[m] See 'Life and Correspondence of Dr. Basire, by the Rev. Dr. Darnell,' 8vo. Lond. 1831, p. 4.
[n] Darnell, p. 23.
[o] Dean Balanquall's Register, i. 174, b.
[p] Darnell, p. 43; Le Neve's Fasti, p. 355.

Smith informs us[q] that although his memoir is founded upon that of Basire, yet he had collected much information from persons[r] who had been acquainted with the Bishop when in Paris, London, and Durham. And as Smith was in communication with his namesake Dr. John Smith and Sir George Wheeler, both prebendaries[s] of Durham, from whom he obtained some of the Bishop's manuscripts, it may reasonably be inferred that they would furnish whatever local information they could collect respecting the object of their correspondent's enquiries. The Life supplies details which are not mentioned by Basire, but it is written in a style which makes it even less inviting than his biographical sketch above mentioned.

With the exception of the instances pointed out in the note[t], the editor is responsible for the marginal references and the annotations which accompany this volume.

[q] Præf., p. vi.

[r] One of these was Evelyn; see his Memoirs, i. 251, &c. ed. 1818, and Smith, p. 5. note.

[s] Præf. p. vii, viii. Dr. John Smith was appointed prebendary by Cosin; Hutchinson's Hist. of Durham, ii. 222. edit. 1823.

[t] P. 87, note.

THE LIFE

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

JOHN COSIN,

LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

LIFE OF COSIN.

Cosin (John) a learned bishop of Durham in the seventeenth century, was the eldest son of Giles Cosin, a citizen of Norwich[a], by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of — Remington, of Remington castle, a good and ancient family[b]. He was born at Norwich, November 30, 1594, and educated in the free [1595.] school there, till he came to be fourteen years of age. Then he was transplanted into Caius College in Cambridge in 1610, of which he was successively chosen scholar and fellow: and where he regularly took his degrees in arts[c]. Having distinguished himself by his learning, diligence, and ingenuity, in the year 1616, when he was about twenty years of age, he had an offer, at the same time, both from Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, then bishop of Ely, and from Dr. Overall, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, of a librarian's place. But by his late tutor's advice, he accepted of the latter's invitation; who liked him so well, that, on account of his knowledge and fair writing he made him also his secretary[d]. At the same time he encouraged him to study divinity, and sent him from time to time to keep his exercises in the University[e]. But, in 1619, he lost his excellent patron, and with him all hopes and prospect of advancement[f]. However, providence soon raised him a better patron in Dr. Richard Neile, then bishop of Durham, who took him for his domestic chaplain, and in 1624 conferred upon him the tenth prebend in the cathedral church of Durham [A], in which he was installed the 4th

[a] But originally of Foxhearth. He was a very rich man, and a person of great probity.

[b] See 'The dead man's real speech,' a funeral sermon on bishop Cosin, &c., by Isaac Basire, 8vo. Lond. 1673. p. 38; and 'Vita Joannis Cosini episcopi Dunelmensis. Scriptore Thoma Smitho.' Lond. 1707. 4to. p. 1.

[c] Dr. Smith ib., and Dr. Basire, p. 36, 43.

[d] Smith, p. 1, 2.

[e] Basire, ubi supra.

[f] Bishop Overall died May 7, [12,] 1619, having the year before been translated to Norwich.

of December that same year[g]. In September following, he was collated to the archdeaconry of the East Riding in the church of York, vacant by the resignation of Marmaduke Blakeston, whose daughter he had married[h]. And on the 20th of July 1626, was moreover collated by his patron, Bishop Neile, to the rich rectory of Branspeth [B], in the diocese of Durham[i]. The same year, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity[k]. About that time, having frequent meetings at the bishop of Durham's house in London, with Dr. William Laud, then bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Francis White, soon after bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Richard Montague, and other learned men, distinguished by their zeal for the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, he began to be obnoxious to the then Puritans, who (so great was their malice or ignorance) looked upon all such divines as popishly affected[l]. This imputation of theirs on Mr. Cosin in particular, was sufficiently authorized, as they imagined, by his 'Collection of Private Devotions,' [C] published in 1627, wherein many things were thought too much favourable to popery. But how wrong this imputation was, let his whole conduct testify. In 1628 he was concerned, with other members of the Church of Durham, in a prosecution against Peter Smart, prebendary there, for a seditious sermon preached in that cathedral [D]. About the same time he
[1635.] took his degree of Doctor in Divinity; and in 1634, February the 8th, was elected Master of Peter-House, in the room of Dr. Matthew Wren, newly made bishop of Hereford. In that station he strenuously applied himself to promote sound religion and useful learning[m]. He served the office of Vice-Chancellor for the University of Cambridge
[1639.] in 1640. And the same year King Charles the First, to whom he was chaplain, conferred upon him the deanery of Peterborough, in which he was installed November 7, 1640[n].

But this dignity he did not long enjoy, or rather he did not quietly enjoy it at all, since his troubles began three days

[g] Smith and Basire, ubi supra. See also Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c., by Br. Willis, Esq., 4to. Lond. 1727. vol. i. p. 273.
[h] Willis, ibid., p. 100.
[i] Smith and Basire, as above.
[k] Smith, p. 4.
[l] Ibid.
[m] Ibid., p. 8, 9, 10.
[n] Ibid., p. 9, 11, and J. le Neve's Fasti, edit. 1716. p. 241.

after. For on the 10th of November, a petition from Peter Smart, against him, was read in the House of Commons; wherein Smart complained of the Doctor's superstition and innovations in the church of Durham, and of his severe prosecution in the High-Commission Court[o]. Whereupon, on the 21st of the same month, Dr. Cosin was ordered to be sent for by the serjeant-at-arms, and a committee appointed to prepare a charge against him[p]. Soon after, he presented a petition to the House, which, on the 28th following, was read, and referred to a committee[q]. On the 3rd of December, the serjeant had leave given him by the Commons, to take bail for Dr. Cosin; which was accordingly done, the 19th of January, 1640-41; the Doctor himself being bound in two thousand pounds, and his securities in a thousand pounds apiece, for his appearance upon summons[r]. Three days after, namely, January the 22nd, he was by a vote of the whole House, sequestered from his ecclesiastical benefices, being the first clergyman that was then used in that manner[s]. On the 15th of March ensuing, the Commons sent up one-and-twenty articles of impeachment against him [E] to the House of Lords[t]; to which the Doctor put in his answer upon oath; and so fully vindicated himself[u] during the five days the affair was depending before the Lords, that most of them acknowledged his innocence; and Mr. Glover, one of Smart's own counsel, told him openly at the bar of the House of Lords, 'that he was ashamed of him, and could not in conscience plead for him any longer.' Whereupon the Lords dismissed the Doctor, upon his putting in bail for his appearance; but they never sent for him again[v].

About the same time, upon a motion being made in the House of Commons, 'that he had enticed a young scholar to

[o] Rushworth's Historical Collect., P. iii. vol. i. edit. 1721. p. 41, 53; and Dr. Nalson, &c., edit. 1682. vol. i. p. 518.

[p] Nalson, ibid., p. 538.

[q] Ibid., p. 569.

[r] Ibid., p. 651.

[s] Attempt towards recovering an Account of the numbers and sufferings of the Clergy, &c., by J. Walker, fol. Lond. 1714. P. ii. p. 58.

[t] Rushworth, ubi supra, p. 188; and Nalson, vol. i. p. 789, 790.

[u] Both by his own self, and by the very witness that Smart and his son-in-law produced against him. Examen Historicum, p. 286.

[v] Walker, ubi supra, p. 59; and Smith, p. 10, 11; and Heylyn's Examen Historicum, p. 286.

popery,' he was committed to the serjeant-at-arms, attend daily till the House should call him to a hearir After fifty days' imprisonment, and charges of twenty sh lings a-day, he came at length to a hearing; when he ma it appear, that being Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, he h most severely punished that young scholar, (whom, up examination he had found guilty), by making him recai and expelling him the University. And to this some the members bore witness. However, the Doctor had i manner of reparation made him for his great trouble ar expenses; which gives but a disadvantageous idea of tl justice and honesty of that House[w].

In 1642 he was concerned, with others, in sending tl plate of Cambridge University to King Charles the Firs then at York; for which a furious storm fell upon seven members of that University, and particularly upon Dr. Cosin who having some time before[x] been voted unworthy to be Head or Governor in either of the Universities, or to hol or enjoy any ecclesiastical promotion, was ejected from hi Mastership by a warrant from the Earl of Manchester, date March 13th, 1642-3. So that, as he was the first that wa sequestered, so was he also the very first of his University who was turned out[y].

Thus being deprived of all his preferments, and still fear ing the worst that might follow, he thought fit to leav the kingdom, and to withdraw to Paris, in the year 1643 Being safely arrived to that place, he did, according to Kin Charles's order and direction, take under his care, an officiate as chaplain to, such of Queen Henrietta Maria' household as were protestants. With them, and othe English exiles that were daily resorting to Paris, he forme a congregation, that assembled at first in a private house an afterwards in the chapel of Sir Richard Brown, ambassado from the court of England to that of France. Not lon after, he had lodgings assigned him in the Louvre, with small pension, on account of the relation he bore to Quee Henrietta[z].

[w] Persecutio undecima, p. 23; Nalson, as above, p. 568.

[x] January 22, 1640-41; Nalson, as above, p. 734.

[y] Walker, ubi supra, p. 152.

[z] Smith, p. 12, 13, 14.

During his residence in this place, he shewed how false and groundless was the imputation that had been thrown upon him 'of his being popishly affected;' for notwithstanding his great straits, he remained steady and unmoved in the profession of the protestant religion. He kept up the English Church-discipline, and the form of worship appointed by the Common Prayer; he reclaimed some that were quite gone over to popery, and confirmed several more in the protestant profession, who, by their converse with Romanists, were become wavering, and inclinable to entertain favourable opinions of the popish tenets[a]. He also had several controversies and disputes with divers Jesuits and Romish priests; particularly once with the Prior of the English Benedictines at Paris [F], in which he acquitted himself with so much learning and sound reasoning, that he utterly defeated the suspicions of his enemies, and much exceeded the very expectations of his friends[b]. There were made him very great offers of preferment [G], if he would have been tempted thereby to alter his religion; but he stood proof against them all[c]. He composed, during his exile, several learned works, chiefly against the Roman Catholics; of which we shall give an account below.

Though he was extremely zealous for the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, yet he kept a friendly intercourse and correspondence with the protestant ministers at Charenton [H]; who, on their parts, expressed the utmost regard for him, and permitted him sometimes to officiate in their congregations [I] according to the rites prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer[d].

Thus having, during his seventeen years exile in France, behaved 'discreetly and prudently,' even in the judgment of his enemies[e], he returned to his native country at the Restoration of King Charles the Second, and took possession again of his preferments and dignities. About the end of July 1660, he came to his deanery at Peterborough, and was the

[a] See Examen Historicum, ut supra, p. 293.
[b] Fuller, Ch. Hist., B. xi. p. 173.
[c] Walker, ubi supra, p. 60.
[d] Smith, ubi supra, p. 19, 20; Examen Historicum, p. 291, 292.
[e] See D. Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. edit. 1733. p. 388. Mr. Neal adds that the Doctor was 'softened in his principles by age and sufferings.'

first that read the Common Prayer, in that cathedral, after the late times of confusion[f]. But here he was not suffered to rest; for the king designed, a very little while after, to make him dean of Durham, but reflecting on his sufferings and upon his constant attendance and services beyond the seas, he nominated him bishop of that rich see[g]. Accordingly, he was consecrated on the 2nd of December, 1660, in Westminster Abbey[h]. As soon as he could go down into his diocese, he set about reforming many abuses that had crept in there during the late anarchy; and by his generous and hospitable temper, accompanied with a kind and courteous deportment, he gained an universal respect and esteem[i]. But he chiefly distinguished himself by his very great munificence and charity, and by a public spirit. For, considering himself principally as steward of the large revenues belonging to his see, he laid out a great share of them in repairing or rebuilding the several edifices belonging to the bishopric of Durham, which had either been demolished or neglected during the civil wars. For instance, he repaired the castle at Bishop's Auckland, [K] and that at Durham, which he enlarged with some additional buildings, and repaired the bishop's house at Darlington, then very ruinous. He also enriched his new chapel at Auckland, and that in the castle of Durham, with several pieces of gilt plate, books, and other costly ornaments, to remain to his successors in the bishopric for ever; the charge of all which buildings, repairs, ornaments, &c. amounted to no less than twenty-six thousand pounds[k]. He likewise built and endowed two hospitals; the one at Durham for eight poor people, the other at Auckland for four; the annual revenue of the first being seventy pounds, and of the other thirty pounds; and near his hospital at Durham, rebuilt the school-houses, to the charge of three hundred pounds. He also built a library

[f] See Mr. Sim. Gunton's Hist. of Peterburgh, Supplem., p. 339.

[g] Basire, p. 49.

[h] Register and Chronicle Ecclesiastical and Civil, &c. by Bishop Kennet, edit. 1728. fol. p. 323. Dr. Sancroft preached the consecration sermon; vid. Smith, p. 21.

[i] Smith, p. 21, 22, 23. In 1661, he was one of the commissioners at the Savoy conference, where he yielded to some moderating concessions. See Life of R. Baxter, fol. l. i. part ii. p. 305.

[k] Dr. Smith says, it was only near sixteen thousand pounds. Vita, ut supra, p. 24, 25.

near the castle of Durham, the charge whereof, and pictures wherewith he adorned it, amounted to eight hundred pounds, and gave books thereto, to the value of two thousand pounds; as also an annual pension of twenty marks for ever to a library keeper. The college of dissolved prebends at Auckland, purchased by Sir Arthur Haselrigg, and by him forfeited to the king, which King Charles the Second gave to Bishop Cosin in fee, he gave to his successors, bishops of Durham, for ever; the value thereof being three hundred and twenty pounds. He rebuilt the east end of the chapel at Peter-House, in Cambridge, which cost three hundred and twenty pounds; and gave in books to the library of that college, a thousand pounds. He founded eight scholarships in the same University; namely, five in Peter-House, of ten pounds a year each; and three in Gonvill and Caius college, of twenty nobles apiece per annum; both which, together with a provision of eight pounds yearly to the common chest of these two colleges respectively, amounted to two thousand five hundred pounds. He likewise made an augmentation of sixteen pounds a-year to the vicarage of St. Andrews, at Auckland[l]. The rest of his numerous benefactions we shall give an account of in the note [L]. In a word, this generous bishop, during the eleven years he sat in the see of Durham, is said to have spent above two thousand pounds a-year, in pious and charitable uses[m].

The two last years of his life he enjoyed but a very indifferent state of health, being very much afflicted with the stone. At length the 'roaring pains' of that distemper, as he used to call them, together with a pectoral dropsy, put an end to his most valuable life[n], at his house in Pall Mall, Westminster, on the fifteenth of January, 1671-2, when he was seventy-seven years, one month, and sixteen days old[o]. In his will, dated December the 11th, 1671, he made a large and open declaration of his faith [M].

About the year 1625, he married Frances, daughter of Marmaduke Blakeston, M.A.,[p] by whom he had a son, [13 Aug. 1626.]

[l] Smith, ubi supra, p. 25.
[m] Basire, ubi supra, p. 79, 80.
[n] Ibid., p. 86, 87.
[o] Smith, ubi supra, p. 27, 28.
[p] Archdeacon of the East Riding and prebendary of York and Durham, &c. See Willis, ubi supra, p. 100, 180, 269; and Basire as above.

whom he disinherited on account of his embracing popery [Mary] [N]; and four daughters, one married to Sir Gilbert Gerard, [Elizabeth] Bart., another to Sir [Thomas] Burton, Bart., and the youngest to Dr. Denys Granville, brother to the earl of Bath, and afterwards dean of Durham [q].

As for the Bishop's body, it was for some time deposited in a vault in London; and in April, 1672, conveyed to Bishop's Auckland, in the diocese of Durham; where, on the twenty-ninth of that month, it was buried in the chapel belonging to the palace, under a tomb of black marble, with an inscription [O] prepared by the Bishop in his lifetime [r]. We shall give an account of his works in the note [P]. As to his personal qualifications, the Bishop was tall and erect, and had a grave and comely presence. He had a sound understanding, well improved with all kinds of useful learning. And, as for his hospitality, generosity, and charity, they were so very conspicuous and extensive, that he is justly reckoned to have been one of the most munificent, if not the most munificent, of all the bishops of Durham [s]. Among many other services he did to his see, one was the obtaining a release (in compensation of the loss that see suffered by taking away the court of Wards and Liveries) of the annuity or pension of one thousand pounds [t], charged upon that bishopric ever since Queen Elizabeth's days [u].

[q] Smith, p. 26, and from private information.

[r] Smith, p. 28; Willis, ubi supra, p. 251.

The burial service was read by Guy Carlton, bishop of Bristol and prebendary of Durham; and Dr. Isaac Basire preached the funeral sermon. Smith, ibid.

[s] See Basire, p. 37, 103.

[t] Or, eight hundred and fourscore pounds. Basire, p. 56.

[u] See Willis, ubi supra, p. 228, 811. This thousand pounds was for keeping a garrison at Berwick against the Scots.

APPENDIX.

[A] *And in* 1624, *conferred upon him the tenth prebend in the cathedral church of Durham.*] All the while he enjoyed it, which was about six-and-thirty years, he was very constant in his residences, both ordinary and extraordinary, during which he kept a laudable hospitality, according to the statutes of that Church. So that Dr. Basire testifies[a] that upon search of the register of that cathedral, he could not find one dispensation for him in all the time he continued prebendary.

[B] *Was moreover collated by his patron, Bishop Neile, to the rich rectory of Branspeth.*] The parochial church of which he beautified in an extraordinary manner[b].

[C] *His Collection of Private Devotions.*] The title of it was, 'A Collection of Private Devotions; or, The Hours of Prayer.' Dr. Smith informs us[c] that it was written at the command of King Charles the First, who observing that his queen's protestant attendants were frequently reading in 'The Hours of the Virgin Mary,' and other popish books of devotion, that were set, perhaps on purpose, about the royal apartments, lest they should thereby be tainted with superstition and other false principles, he ordered a manual of prayers to be composed for their use, out of the Holy Scriptures, and the ancient liturgies; which was accordingly done by Mr. Cosin. Others affirm[d], that it was written at the request of the countess of Denbigh, the duke of Buckingham's sister. This lady being then somewhat unsettled in her religion, and warping towards popery, these Devotions were drawn up to recommend the Church of England farther to her esteem, and to preserve her in that communion. This book, although furnished with a great deal of good matter, was not altogether acceptable in the contexture; although the title-page sets forth that it was formed upon the model of a book of private prayers, authorized by Queen Elizabeth in the year 1560[e]. To give the reader some part of it; after the Calendar, it begins with the Apostles' Creed in twelve articles, the Lord's Prayer in seven petitions, the Ten Commandments, with the duties enjoined,

[a] Ubi supra, p. 44, 45.

[b] See the Hist. of the Cathedral Church of Durham, by Sir William Dugdale, p. 81, at the end of his Hist. of St. Paul's, second edit. 1716, fol.

[c] Ubi supra, p. 5, 6.

[d] Collier, Eccl. Hist., vol. ii. p. 742.

[e] *Horarium Regia Authoritate Editum*, ann. 1560; and reprinted in 1573, *cum privilegio*, by Will. Seers.

and the sins forbidden. Then follow the precepts of charity, t seven sacraments, the three theological virtues, the three kinds good works, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the twelve fruits the Holy Ghost, the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, the eig beatitudes, the seven deadly sins, their opposite virtues, and the fo last things. And, after some explanatory prefaces and introductio were subjoined the forms of prayer for the first, third, sixth, a ninth hours, and likewise for the Vespers and Compline, former called the Canonical Hours. Next to these was the litany, the sev penitential psalms, prayers preparatory for receiving the Holy Euch rist, prayers to be used in time of sickness, and at the approach death, &c.

Though this book was approved by George Mountain, Bishop London, and licensed with his own hand, yet it was somewhat sur prising at first view, and some moderate persons were shocked wit it, as drawing too near the superstitions of the Church of Rome; a least they suspected it as a preparation to further advances. Th top of the frontispiece had the name of Jesus, in three capital letters I. H. S. Upon these was a cross, encircled with the sun, supporte by two Angels, with two devout women praying towards it.

This book was severely animadverted upon by Henry Burton, in his 'Examination of Private Devotions: or the Hours of Prayer[f], &c.;' and by W. Prynne, in his 'Brief Survey and Censure of Mr. Cozen's cozenizing Devotions[g].'

[D] *In* 1628 *he was concerned, with other members of the Church of Durham, in a prosecution against Peter Smart, &c.*] This Peter Smart, who had been schoolmaster at Durham, was collated Dec. 30, 1609, to the sixth prebend in the church of Durham, and removed July 6, 1614, to the fourth prebend[h]. He had also other preferments. Being to preach, July 7, 1628[i], in the cathedral church of Durham, he took for his text Psalm xxxi. 7, 'I hate them that hold of superstitious vanities.' From which he took occasion to make a most bitter invective against some of the bishops, charging them with no less than popery and idolatry. Among other virulent expressions he had these—p. 11: 'The Whore of Babylon's bastardly brood doting upon their mother's beauty, that painted harlot of the Church of Rome, have laboured to restore her all her robes and jewels again; especially her looking-glass, the mass, in which she may behold her bravery'—'The mass coming in, brings with it an inundation of ceremonies, crosses and crucifixes, chalices and images, copes and candle-

[f] Lond. 1628, 4to.
[g] Ibid, 1628.
[h] Willis, as above, p. 266, 268.
[i] Dr. Nalson says, by mistake, it was 1638, p. 518. But he was suspended for his sermon in 1631.

sticks, tapers and basons, and a thousand such trinckets; which we have seen in this Church, since the communion-table was turned into an altar.'—p. 26. 'I assure you the altar is an idol, a damnable idol as it is used. I say, they are whores and whoremongers, they commit spiritual fornication, who bow their bodies before that idol, the altar—&c.'

For this sermon he was questioned, first at Durham, afterwards in the High-Commissioned-Court at London; whence he was removed, at his own desire, to that at York, where refusing, with great scorn, to recant, he was, for his obstinacy, degraded, and by sentence at Common Law, soon after dispossessed of his prebend and livings; whereupon he was supplied with 400*l.* a year by subscription from the Puritan party[k], which was more than all his preferments amounted to.

As for Dr. Cosin, he was so far from being Mr. Smart's chief prosecutor, as he avers, that after he was questioned in the High Commission at Durham, he never meddled in the matter, save that once he wrote a letter to the archbishop of York, and the commissioners, in his favour[l].

Mr. Smart's character is not represented to any great advantage. One author indeed[m] calls him a man 'of a grave aspect, and reverend presence.' But another, who knew him better[n], assures us, 'that he was an old man, of most froward, fierce, and unpeaceable spirit, &c.' He had not preached in the cathedral church of Durham, though prebendary of it, for seven years, till he preached that seditious sermon for which he was questioned. And whilst he held and enjoyed his preferment, and his health too, he seldom preached more than once or twice a year.

[E] *The Commons sent up one-and-twenty articles of impeachment against him.*] They were carried up by one Mr. Rouse, who introduced them with the following speech. 'My Lords, I am commanded by the House of Commons, to present your Lordships a declaration and impeachment against Dr. Cosins, and others, upon the complaint of Mr. Peter Smart; which Mr. Smart was a protomartyr, or first confessor of note in the late days of persecution. The whole matter is a tree, whereof the branches and fruit are manifest in the articles of this declaration.' Then follow these articles against Dr. Cosin.

1. That he was the first man that caused the Communion-table in

[k] Out of the peculiar contributions at London and elsewhere, gathered up for silenced ministers.

[l] This is Dr. Cosin's own account, as published in Dr. Heylyn's Examen Historicum, p. 258, &c. Compare it with that in Fuller's Ch. Hist., B. X. p. 173.

[m] Fuller, ibid.

[n] Dr. Cosin, ubi supra.

the church of Durham to be removed and set altar-ways, in the erecting and beautifying whereof, he (being then treasurer) expended two hundred pounds[o].

2. That he used to officiate at the west side thereof, turning his back to the people.

3. That he used extraordinary bowing to it.

4. That he compelled others to do it, using violence to the persons of them that refused so to do; for instance, once some omitting it, he comes out of his seat, down to the seat where they sat, being gentlewomen, called them whores and jades, and pagans, and the like unseemly words, and rent some of their clothes.

5. That he converted divers prayers in the Book of Common Prayers, into hymns, to be sung in the choir, and played with the organ, contrary to the ancient custom of that Church.

6. That whereas it had been formerly a custom in that Church, at the end of every sermon, to sing a psalm; this custom, when Dr. Cosin came thither, was abrogated, and instead thereof, they sung an anthem in the choir, there being no psalm sung either at the minister's going up into the pulpit, or at his coming down.

7. That the first Candlemas-day at night, that he had been in that Church, he caused three hundred wax candles to be set up and lighted in the church at once, in honour of Our Lady, and placed threescore of them upon and about the Altar.

8. That in this church there were reliques of divers images, above which were remaining the ruins of two seraphims, with the picture of Christ between them, erected in Queen Mary's time, in the time of popery; all which, when Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, were demolished by virtue of a commission by her to that intent granted, which so continued demolished from that time, till Dr. Cosin came to that Church, who, being treasurer, caused the same to be repaired, and most gloriously painted.

9. That all the time he was unmarried, he wore a cope of white satin, never officiating in any other, it being reserved solely for him, no man excepting himself making use thereof, which after marriage he cast off, and never after wore.

10. That there was a knife belonging to the church, kept altogether in the vestry, being put to none but holy uses, as cutting the bread in the Sacrament and the like; Dr. Cosin refusing to cut the same with any other but that, thinking all others that were unconsecrated, polluted, but that, which he putting holiness in, never termed but the consecrated knife.

[o] Mr. Fuller says, that it was a marble altar with cherubims, which cost 2,000*l.*, with all the appurtenances thereof. See Fuller, ubi supra, p. 173.

11. That in a sermon preached in that church, he did deliver certain words in disgrace of the reformers of our Church; for instance, the words were these: 'The reformers of this Church, when they abolished the mass, took away all good order, and, instead of a reformation, made it a deformation [p].'

12. That he seldom or never, in any of his sermons, styled the ministers of the Word and Sacraments by any other name than priests, nor the Communion-table by any other name than Altar.

13. That by his appointment there was a cope bought, the seller being a convicted Jesuit, and afterwards employed in that church, having upon it the picture of the invisible and incomprehensible Trinity.

14. That whereas it had been formerly a custom in that Church, at five of the clock to have morning prayers read, winter and summer; this custom, when Dr. Cosin came thither, was abandoned; and instead thereof was used singing and playing on the organs, and some few prayers read, and this was called first-service; which being ended, the people departed out of the church, returning at nine o'clock, and having then morning prayers read unto them, and this was called second-service; which innovation being misliked, and complained of by Mr. Justice Hutton, was reformed.

15. That he framed a superstitious ceremony, in lighting the tapers which were placed on the Altars, which, for instance, was this; a company of boys that belonged to the church, came in at the choir door with torches in their hands lighted, bowing towards the Altar at their first entrance, bowing thrice before they lighted their tapers; having done, they withdrew themselves, bowing so oft as before, not once turning their back parts towards the Altar, the organs all the time going.

16. That he counselled some young students of the University to be imitators and practisers of his superstitious ceremonies, who, to ingratiate themselves in his favour, did accordingly; and being afterwards reproved for the same, by some of their friends, confessed that Dr. Cosin first induced them to that practice, and encouraged them therein.

17. That he used, upon Communion days, to make the sign of the Cross with his finger, both upon the seats whereon they were to sit, and the cushions to kneel upon, using some words when he so did.

[p] Dr. Nalson informs us that the Doctor's words were, 'That we must 'not think that when the Bishops took 'away the mass, they took away all 'religion.' Which he made out by producing his sermon. Nalson, ubi supra, p. 792.

18. That one sabbath-day there was set up an unnecessary company of tapers and lights in the church, which Dr. Hunt, being then dean, fearing they might give offence, being they were then unnecessary, sent his man to pull them down, who did so; but Dr. Cosin being thereat aggrieved, came to the fellow, and there miscalled him in a most uncivil manner, and began to beat him in the public view of the congregation, to the great disturbance of the same.

19. That the dean and chapter of that Church, whereof Dr. Cosin was one, with many others, being invited to dinner in the town of Durham, Dr. Cosin then and there spake words derogating from the king's prerogative: the words were these; 'The king hath no more power over the Church than the boy that rubs my horse heels.'

20. That there being many of the canons of the said Church present at that time, amongst the rest there was one took more notice of his words than the rest, and acquainted one of his fellow-canons with them when he came home. This canon being a friend to Dr. Cosin, told the Doctor that such a man exclaimed of him, and charged him with words that he should speak at such a time; the Doctor presently sends for him, and when he came into the house, the Doctor desires him to follow him into an inner room, who did so; but so soon as he came in, the Doctor shuts the door, and sets both his hands upon him, calling him rogue and rascal, and many other names, insomuch that the man fearing he would do him a mischief, cried out; Mrs. Cosin coming in, endeavoured to appease her husband, and, holding his hands, the other ran away.

21. That the Doctor did seek many unjust ways to ensnare this man, that so he might take a just occasion to put him out of his place; but none of them taking effect, he put him out by violence, having no other reason why he did so, but because he had no good voice, when he had served the place two years before Dr. Cosin came thither; for instance of which unjust ways to ensnare this man, Dr. Cosin hired a man and woman to pretend a desire of matrimony, and to offer a sum of money to this petty canon to contract matrimony between them in a private chamber, so thereupon to take advantage of his revenge upon him. This plot being confessed by the parties, to be first laid by Dr. Cosin, and that they were his instruments[q].

Besides the several particulars mentioned in these articles, Mr. Fuller informs us that Dr. Cosin was accused of having bought

[q] Nalson, ubi supra, p. 789, 790; and the Diurnall Occurrences or Daily Proceedings of Parliament in 1640, and 1641, Lond. 1641. 4to. p. 52, &c.

a cope with the Trinity, and God the Father in the figure of an old man; another with a crucifix, and the image of Christ, with a red beard and a blue cap. And to have made an anthem to be sung, of the Three Kings of Collen, by the names of Gasper, Balthazar, and Melchior[r].

To these articles Dr. Cosin put in his answer, upon oath, before the House of Lords, as is above related. But seeing afterwards the substance of them published in Mr. Fuller's Ecclesiastical History[s], he wrote from Paris a letter to Mr. Warren, and Dr. Reves, in his own vindication, dated April 6, 1658, wherein he declares, as he had done before the Lords,

1. That the Communion-table in the church of Durham (which in the bill of complaint and Mr. Fuller's History, is said to be the marble Altar, with cherubims), was not set up by him (Dr. Cosin), but by the dean and chapter, (whereof Mr. Smart himself was one,) many years before Mr. Cosin became prebendary of that Church, or ever saw the country.

2. That by the public accounts which are there registered, it did not appear to have cost above the tenth part of what is pretended, appurtenances and all[t].

3. That likewise the copes used in that church were brought in thither long before his (Dr. Cosin's) time, and when Mr. Smart, the complainant, was prebendary there, who also allowed his part (as he (Dr. Cosin) was ready to prove by the Act Book) of the money that they cost, for they cost but little.

4. That as he never approved the picture of the Trinity, or the image of God the Father in the figure of an old man, or otherwise, to be made or placed any where at all; so he was well assured that there were none such (nor to his knowledge or hearsay ever had been) put upon any cope that was used there. One there was that had the story of the Passion embroidered upon it, but the cope that he used to wear, when at any time he attended the Communion-Service, was of plain white satin only, without any embroidery upon it at all.

5. That what the bill of complaint called the image of Christ, with a blue cap, and a golden beard, (Mr. Fuller's History says it was red, and that it was set upon one of the copes,) was nothing else but the top of Bishop Hatfield's tomb, (set up in the Church, under a side-arch there, two hundred years before Dr. Cosin was born,) being a little portraiture, not appearing to be above ten inches long, and

[r] Fuller, Ch. Hist., ubi supra.
[s] B. XI. p. 173.
[t] By this it seems, that the sum mentioned in the original articles was 2000*l.*, though in the printed ones there is only 200*l.* See above, note o.

hardly discernible to the eye what figure it is, for it stands thirty foot from the ground.

6. That by the local statutes of that Church, (whereunto Mr. Smart was sworn, as well as Dr. Cosin,) the treasurer was to give order, that provision should every year be made of a sufficient number of wax lights for the service of the choir, during all the winter time: which statute he (Dr. Cosin) observed when he was chosen into that office, and had order from the dean and chapter, by capitular act, to do it; yet upon the Communion-table they that used to light the candles, never set more than two fair candles, with a few small sizes near to them, which they put there of purpose, that the people all about might have the better use of them for singing the psalms, and reading the lessons out of the Bibles; but two hundred was a greater number than they used all the Church over, either upon Candlemas night or any other.

7. That he never forbad (nor any body else that he knew) the singing of the (metre) psalms in the church, which he used to sing daily there himself, with other company, at morning prayer. But upon Sundays and holydays, in the choir, before the sermon, the Creed was sung, (and that plainly for every one to understand,) as it is appointed in the Communion-book; and after the sermon, was sung a part of a psalm, or some other anthem taken out of the Scripture, and first signified to the people where they might find it.

8. That so far was he from making any anthem to be sung of the Three Kings of Colen, as that he made it, when he first saw it, to be torn in pieces, and he himself cut it out of the old song-books belonging to the chorister's school, with a pen-knife that lay by, at his very first coming to that college. But he was sure that no such anthem had been sung in the choir during all his time of attendance there, nor (for aught that any of the eldest persons of the church and town could tell, or ever heard to the contrary), for fifty or threescore years before, or more.

9. That there was indeed an ordinary knife, provided and laid ready among other things belonging to the administration of the Communion, for the cutting of the bread, and divers other uses in the church-vestry. But that it was ever consecrated, or so called, otherwise than as Mr. Smart, and some of his followers had, for their pleasure, put that appellation upon it, he (Dr. Cosin) never heard, nor believed any body else had, that lived at Durham [u].

The rest of the articles mentioned above, Mr. Smart could not

[u] This Letter is printed in Dr. Heylyn's Examen Historicum, &c. Appendix, p. 283, &c. Dr. Fuller afterwards asked Dr. Cosin's pardon for what he had said as above, relating to him. See Worthies, in Durham, p. 295.

prove, and Dr. Cosin gave a very satisfactory answer to them, remaining upon the rolls of Parliament. But as Mr. Fuller did not specify them all, the Doctor did not think it necessary to repeat in this letter his answer to each of them.

Upon the whole, therefore, as we cannot, on the one hand, enough wonder at the weakness of Dr. Cosin, for inventing and pressing the observance of such ceremonies and insignificant things, as some of those above mentioned; so, on the other hand, who can be sufficiently amazed at the confidence of P. Smart, in charging the Doctor with things which he could so easily disprove. And what must be thought or said of that House of Commons which would encourage and receive such kinds of accusations.

[F] *Particularly once with the prior of the English Benedictines at Paris.*] The Prior's name was — Robinson. And the controversy between him and Dr. Cosin was managed both by word and writing. The argument was, concerning the validity of the ordination of our priests, &c., in the Church of England. And the Doctor had the better so far, that he could never get from the Prior any reply to his last answer.

This conference was undertaken to fix a person of honour then wavering about that point. The sum of the conference was written by Dr. Cosin to Dr. Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, in two letters, bearing date June 11 and July 11, 1645[x].

[G] *There were made him very great offers of preferment.*] One author speaks upon this point to the following purpose: [y] 'Dr. Cosin being by the violence of the persecution which was raised against the episcopal party, forced to quit his native country, and seek a retreat amongst the papists in France; he continued a most unshaken protestant, and bold propagator of the Reformed religion, even to the hazard of his life; and when the necessitous condition to which he was reduced, and all the advantageous offers imaginable were made him to embrace the Roman communion, yet were not those temptations capable of removing him from his foundation, insomuch, that despairing of ever obliging him to change his religion, the papists were so enraged at him, as, I have heard it from his own mouth, frequently to threaten him with assassination, and that he should not escape pistol or poignard: and in revenge, which I have heard him aver was the most sensible affliction that ever befel him in his whole life, they inveigled his only son from him to become a papist[z].'

[x] Basire, ubi supra, p. 59, 60.
[y] Nalson, as above, p. 519.
[z] He was educated in grammar learning in a Jesuit's school, as were many others of our youths during the civil war, which corrupted him. Smith, p. 13.

We may add this other testimony of Doctor Cosin's attachment t the Reformed religion. 'Whilst he remained in France, he was th Atlas of the protestant religion, supporting the same with his piet and learning, confirming the wavering therein, yea, daily addin proselytes (not of the meanest rank) thereunto[a].'

[H] *He kept a friendly intercourse and correspondence with th protestant ministers at Charenton.*] One author indeed tells us[b], that after getting over into France, he neither joined with the church o French protestants at Charenton, nigh Paris, nor with the papists,— but confined himself to the Church of old English protestants therein.' But Dr. Cosin, in opposition to the former part of that assertion, declared to all the world, that he never refused to join with the protestants there, or any where else, in all things wherein they joined with the Church of England[c]. And that he was constant in the same opinion, appears by a letter of his, dated from Paris, Feb. 7, 1650, to one Mr. Cordel, then at Blois, who seemed shy to communicate with the protestants there, upon the scruple of their inorderly ordination, in which letter he has this passage:—'To speak my mind freely to you, I would not wish any of ours absolutely to refuse communicating in their church, or determine it to be unlawful, for fear of a greater scandal that may thereupon arise, than we can tell how to answer or excuse[d].'

[I] *And permitted him sometimes to officiate in their congregations.*] Where he baptized, married, and had even some persons ordained priests and deacons by English bishops, according to the several forms in the Book of Common Prayer. With their consent likewise, he did, in the year 1645, 'solemnly, in his priestly habit, with his surplice, and with the office of burial used in the Church of England, inter, at Charenton, the body of Sir William Carnaby, Knt., not without the troublesome contradiction and contention of the Romish curate of that parish[e].'

[K] *He repaired the castle of Bishop's Auckland.*] This (the chief country seat of the bishops of Durham), was, upon the seizure of the Bishop's land, bestowed upon Sir Arthur Haselrigg; who designing to make it his principal seat, and not liking the old fashioned building, resolved to erect a new and beautiful fabric, all of one pile, according to the most elegant fashion of those times. To fit himself therefore with materials for this his new house, he pulled down a most magnificent and large chapel, built by Anthony Bek, bishop

[a] Fuller's Worthies, in Durham, p. 295.

[b] Fuller, ubi supra.

[c] In his letter, inserted in Heylyn's Examen Historicum, p. 283, &c.

[d] See Basire, p. 58, 59. and note [P] No. 2.

[e] Basire, p. 58. and Smith, p. 19. See particularly Examen Historicum, p. 291, 292.

of Durham, in the time of King Edward the First; with the stone whereof, and an addition of what was deficient, he erected his new fabric in a large court, on the east side of the castle. But Bishop Cosin, soon after his consecration, taking notice that the greatest part of the materials, used in that building, were taken from the above-mentioned consecrated chapel, he not only refused to make use of it for his habitation, though it was commodiously contrived, and nobly built, but took it wholly down, and with the stone thereof built another beautiful chapel on the north side of that great court; and, under the middle aisle thereof, caused a convenient vault to be made for his own sepulture[f].

[L] *The rest of his numerous benefactions, &c.*] They were as follows:—He gave to the cathedral at Durham a fair carved lectern, and litany-desk, with a large scolloped silver paten, gilt, for the use of the communicants there, which cost forty-five pounds.

Upon the new building of the Bishop's Court, Exchequer, and Chancery, and towards the erecting of two Sessions-houses at Durham, he gave a thousand pounds.

Moreover, he gave towards the redemption of Christian captives at Algiers, five hundred pounds.

Towards the relief of the distressed loyal party in England, eight hundred pounds.

For repairing the banks in Howdenshire, a hundred marks.

Towards the repair of St. Paul's cathedral, in London, fifty pounds.

By his will he bequeathed to the poor of his hospitals at Durham and Auckland, to be distributed at his funeral, six pounds.

To the poor people of the country, coming to his funeral, twenty pounds.

To poor prisoners detained for debt, in the goals of Durham, York, Peterborough, Cambridge, and Norwich, fifty pounds.

To the poor people within the precincts of the cathedral at Norwich, and within the parish of St. Andrew's there, in which he was born, and educated in his minority, twenty pounds.

To the poor of Durham, Auckland, Darlington, Stockton, Gateshead, and Branspeth, (all in the bishopric of Durham,) thirty pounds.

To the poor in the parishes of Chester-in-the-Street, Houghton-le-Spring, North-Allerton, Creike, and Howden, (all lordships belonging to the bishops of Durham,) forty pounds.

Towards the re-building of St. Paul's cathedral, in London, when it should be raised five yards from the ground, a hundred pounds.

To the cathedral of Norwich, whereof the one half to be bestowed on a marble tablet, with an inscription, in memory of Dr. John

[f] Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 82.

Overall, some-time bishop there, (whose chaplain he had been,) th rest for providing some useful ornaments for the Altar, forty pound

Towards the re-edifying of the north and south sides of the col lege chapel at Peterhouse, in Cambridge, suitable to the east an west ends, already by him perfected, two hundred pounds.

Towards the new building of a chapel at Emanuel college, i Cambridge, fifty pounds.

To the children of Mr. John Heyward, late prebendary of Litch field, as a testimony of his gratitude to their deceased father, who, i his Lordship's younger years, placed him with his uncle, Bisho Overall, twenty pounds apiece.

To the dean and chapter of Peterborough, to be employed for the use of the poor in that town, a hundred pounds.

To the poor of Durham, Branspeth, and Bishop's Auckland, to be distributed as his two daughters (the Lady Gerard, and the Lady Burton) should think best, a hundred pounds.

To some of his domestic servants he gave a hundred marks; to some fifty pounds; and to the rest half a year's wages, over and above their last quarter's pay[g].

[M] *In his will he made a large and open declaration of his faith.*] Wherein, after repeating the substance of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, he condemns and rejects whatsoever heresies or schisms, the ancient Catholic and Universal Church of Christ, with an unanimous consent, had rejected and condemned; together with all the modern fautors of the same heresies; sectaries and fanatics, who, being carried on with an evil spirit, do falsely give out, they are inspired of God. As the Anabaptists, New Independents, and Presbyterians of our country, a kind of men hurried away with the spirit of malice, disobedience, and sedition.

'Moreover, (adds he,) I do profess with holy asseveration, and from my very heart, that I am now, and ever have been from my youth, altogether free and averse from the corruptions and impertinent new-fangled, or papistical, superstitions and doctrines,—long since introduced, contrary to the holy Scriptures, and the rules and customs of the ancient Fathers. But in what part of the world soever any Churches are extant, bearing the name of Christ, and professing the true Catholic faith and religion, worshipping and calling upon God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, with one heart and voice, if I be now hindered actually to join with them, either by distance of countries, or variance amongst men, or by any hindrance whatsoever; yet always in my mind and affection I join and unite with them;

[g] Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 83, 84, 85; and Smith, p. 25, 26, 27.

which I desire to be chiefly understood of protestants, and the best Reformed Churches, &c.' This part of his will was written in Latin, and the latter part, containing his benefactions, in English[h].

[N] *He had a son, whom he disinherited on account of his embracing popery.*] See above, note [G] of this article. He was prevailed upon, not only to embrace popery, but also to take religious orders in the Church of Rome; and although Dr. Cosin used all the ways imaginable, and even the authority of the French king, which, by his interest he had procured, to regain him out of their power, and from their persuasion, yet all proved ineffectual. Whereupon he disinherited him, allowing him only an annuity of one hundred pounds[i]. He pretended to turn again, but relapsed before the Bishop's decease.

[O] *With an inscription.*] Which runs thus:—

IN NON MORITURAM MEMORIAM
JOHANNIS COSIN.
EPISCOPI DUNELMENSIS,
QUI HOC SACELLUM CONSTRUXIT,
ORNAVIT, ET DEO CONSECRAVIT,
ANN. DOM. M, DC, LXV.
IN FESTO S. PETRI.
OBIIT XV DIE MENSIS JANUARII
ANNO DOMINI, MDCLXXI.
ET HIC SEPULTUS EST, EXPECTANS
FELICEM CORPORIS SUI RESURRECTIONEM,
AC VITAM IN CŒLIS ÆTERNAM.
REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

Round a marble stone on the floor are also these words engraved:

BEATI MORTUI
QUI MORIUNTUR IN DOMINO,
REQUIESCUNT ENIM
A LABORIBUS SUIS[k].

i. e. To the never-dying memory of John Cosin, bishop of Durham, who built and adorned this chapel, and consecrated it to God in 1665, June 29. He died the 15th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1671, and is buried here, waiting for the happy resurrection of his body, and eternal life in heaven. Let him rest in peace.

[h] See Basire, p. 111, &c. Smith, p. 55, &c.

[i] Nalson, as above, p. 519; and Smith, p. 13, 26.

[k] Smith, ubi supra, p. 28; and J. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, from 1650 to 1679, p. 171.

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they rest fro their labours.

[P] *We shall give an account of his works*, &c.] Besides his Co lection of Private Devotions, mentioned above, he published '. Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture; or Th Certain and indubitable Books thereof, as they are received in th Church of England.' London, 1657; 4to. reprinted in 1672. Thi history is deduced from the time of the Jewish Church, to the yea 1546, that is, the time when the Council of Trent corrupted, an made unwarrantable additions to, the ancient canon of the Hol Scriptures. Consequently it was directed against the papists, an was written by the author during his exile at Paris. He dedicated it to Dr. M. Wren, bishop of Ely, then a prisoner in the Tower. Dr. P. Gunning had the care of the edition[l].

Since the Bishop's decease the following books and tracts of his have been published.

1. 'A Letter to Dr. Collins, concerning the Sabbath,' dated from Peterhouse, Jan. 24, 1635[m]. In which, speaking first of the morality of the sabbath, he affirms that the keeping of that particular day was not moral, neither by nature binding all men, nor by precept binding any other men but the Jews, nor them farther than Christ's time. But then, adds he, whether one day of seven, at least, do not still remain immutably to be kept by us Christians, that have God's will and example before, and by virtue of the rules of reason and religion, is the question. And for this he decides in the affirmative. Then he proves, that the keeping of our Sunday is immutable, as being grounded upon divine institution, and apostolical tradition, which he confirms by several instances. Next he shews, that the Schoolmen were the first who began to dispute or deny this day to be of apostolical institution, on purpose to set up the pope's power, to whom, they said, it belongeth, either to change or abrogate the day.

Towards the end, he lays down these three positions against the puritans: 1. 'The observation of the Sunday in every week is not commanded us by the fourth commandment, as they say it is.' 2. 'Nor is our Sunday to be observed according to the rule of the fourth commandment, as they say it is.' 3. 'Nor hath it the qualities and conditions of the sabbath annexed to it, as they say it hath.'

II. There is published, 'A Letter from our author to Mr. Cordel, dated Paris, Feb. 7, 1650.' See above note [H]. It is printed at

Basire, p. 66; and Smith, p. 17.

[m] And printed in Bibliotheca Literaria, &c. Lond. 1723, 4to. No. V. p. 33, &c.

the end of a pamphlet, entitled, 'The Judgment of the Church of England, in the case of Lay Baptism, and of Dissenters' Baptism[n].'

III. 'Regni Angliæ religio Catholica, prisca, casta, defæcata; omnibus Christianis monarchis, principibus, ordinibus, ostensa. Anno MDCLII.' i. e. A short scheme of the ancient and pure doctrine and discipline of the Church of England[o]. Written at the request of Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon[p].

IV. 'Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis; cui præmittitur, atque opponitur, tum S. Scripturæ, tum veterum patrum, et reformatarum ecclesiarum doctrina Catholica, de sacris symbolis, et præsentiâ Christi in Sacramento Eucharistiæ.' i. e. The History of Popish Transubstantiation, &c., written by the author at Paris, for the use of some of his countrymen, who were frequently attacked upon that point by the papists. It was published by Dr. Durell, at London, 1675, 8vo., and translated into English in 1676, by Luke de Beaulieu, 8vo.[q] There is a second part still in manuscript[r].

V. 'The differences in the chief points of religion, between the Roman Catholics and us of the Church of England; together with the agreements which we, for our parts, profess, and are ready to embrace, if they, for theirs, were as ready to accord with us in the same. Written to the Countess of Peterborough[s].'

VI. 'Notes on the Book of Common-Prayer.' Published by Dr. William Nicholls, at the end of his Comment on the Book of Common-Prayer, Lond. 1710, fol.

VII. 'Account of a Conference in Paris, between Cyril, Archbishop of Trapezond, and Dr. John Cosin.' Printed in the same book.

The following pieces were also written by Bishop Cosin, but never printed.

1. 'An Answer to a popish pamphlet, pretending that St. Cyprian was a papist.'

2. 'An Answer to four queries of a Roman Catholic, about the Protestant Religion.'

3. 'An Answer to a paper delivered by a popish Bishop to the Lord Inchiquin.'

4. 'Annales Ecclesiastici,' imperfect.

5. 'An Answer to Father Robinson's papers, concerning the validity of the Ordinations of the Church of England.' See above, note [F.]

[n] 2nd edit. Lond. 1712, 8vo.
[o] Printed at the end of Dr. Smith's Life of Bishop Cosin.
[p] Smith, p. 15.
[q] Ibid., p. 16, 17.
[r] Basire, p. 67.
[s] Printed at the end of the Corruptions of the Church of Rome, by Bishop Bull.

6. 'Historia Conciliorum,' imperfect.

7. 'Against the forsakers of the Church of England, and their seducers in this time of her trial.'

8. 'Chronologia Sacra,' imperfect.

9. 'A Treatise concerning the abuse of Auricular Confession in the Church of Rome[t].'

By all which learned works, as one observes[u], and his abilities, quick apprehension, solid judgment, variety of reading, &c., manifested therein, he hath perpetuated his name to posterity, and sufficiently confuted, at the same time, the calumnies industriously spread against him, of his being a papist, or popishly inclined[x]; which brought on him a severe persecution, followed with the plunder of all his goods, the sequestration of his whole estate, and a seventeen years' exile.

[t] Basire, p. 67, 68.

[u] Fuller's Worthies, in Durham, p. 294.

[x] Therefore, as Dr. Smith observes, erubescant jam schismaticorum filii de parentum avorumque convitiis, mendaciis, et calumniis, in Cosinum; p. 18.

THE DEAD MAN'S REAL SPEECH.

A FUNERAL SERMON,

PREACHED ON HEB. XI. 4.

UPON THE TWENTY-NINTH DAY OF APRIL, 1672,

AT THE FUNERAL OF THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

JOHN,

LATE LORD BISHOP AND COUNT PALATINE OF DURHAM,

BY ISAAC BASIRE, D.D.,

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY,
AND ARCHDEACON OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

THE DEAD MAN'S REAL SPEECH.

HEBREWS xi. 4.

By it, he, being dead, yet speaketh.

'KNOW you not that a great man is fallen in Israel?' this was David's noble epitaph over Abner, though his rebel; and how much more may this be our just preface to this solemn funeral, to be sure, over a better man than was Abner? Therefore in king David's words I may truly say again, 'Know you not that a great man is now fallen in our Israel?' a great man indeed, as shall appear before we take our final leave of him. We may be sure greater than Abner, not only in his state, but, which is the crown of all true greatness, in his graces and beneficence; in this indeed and in truth, greater than Abner. Yet Abner was a great man, for he was a general in the field; but on the wrong side, the rebel's side. Our great man a general not only in the field[a], but, which is much more, a general in this Church, I mean, his diocese (a great one); and in both these great capacities, constantly loyal, *ad exemplum*. And yet as high as this great man was so lately, behold how low he is laid down now, who yet must be laid down lower, as you shall see by and by. Such spectacles of mortality ought to be to us survivors *tot specula*, so many true looking-glasses, wherein whatever our artificial looking-glasses may flatter us, with what our living faces seem to be now, this natural looking-glass tells us plainly to our faces, what all our dead faces shall be, must be, then; God knows how soon. 'He being dead yet

2 Sam. 3. 38.

[a] The Lord Bishop of Durham is lieutenant-general of this county, as *ab antiquo ex officio*, so *ex abundanti per mandatum*, by the king's gracious commission *cumulativè*, and so still under the king, who is always the sovereign of all estates in his realms.

speaketh' out mortality to us all; so many funerals, so many warning-pieces to us all to prepare for our last and
Eccles. 7. 2. greatest issue. This, in the judgment of the Wise Man, is the best use we can make of our access to the house of mourning, such as this house is at present; therefore the living should lay it to his heart; which that we may all do, let us pray with the spirit, and in the words of king David,
Ps. 90. 12. 'O teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.'

Can. 55. Ye shall further pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church, &c.

Hebrews xi. 4.

The scope of this text, which must be the aim of the sermon, is this, to stir up all the faithful living to imitate the faithful that are dead; whereof this chapter is the sacred roll upon the divine records, down from Abel unto the patriarchs, the judges, the kings, the prophets, &c.; that is,
Heb. 6. 12. that we should endeavour to become the followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises.

The text is short, but the lesson is long; that is, to live so now, as we may die well at last, and by our good works speak when we are dead.

The parts are two, which do express two states of man.

I. The state of death, 'he being dead,' which is the privation of the life of nature common to all men; on which frail life most men doat so much, because they have no care for, nor hope of a better life.

II. The state of a life after death; that is, the life of glory, implied in these words, 'he speaketh;' for speech is the evidence of a living man; *ergo*, Abel, though dead in the body, yet is still alive in the spirit.

The first is a corrosive to the state of nature; but the second comes in as a cordial to all those who are in the state of grace.

Ex. 14. 20. Heb. 12. 1. This text appears much like the Israelites' guide in the wilderness; it was a cloud, and that no ordinary cloud, but such a cloud as was dark on the one side, and light on the other side; dark towards the Egyptians, but light towards the Israelites. Even so is death dark and sad to the unbelievers

and impenitent, but lightsome and welcome to all true penitents and believers.

1. To begin with the first, the state of death. Man in the state of innocency was created capable of three lives; the life corporal, life spiritual, and life eternal.

The first is the life of nature; a transitory life.

The second is the life of grace; a life permanent, but upon condition of perseverance in an uniform obedience to God.

The third is life eternal; the life of glory; the life of the saints triumphant; of the elect Angels; yea, the life of God Himself, and therefore a life immutable, interminable. Eph. 4. 18.

2. Two of these three lives, the life natural and spiritual, man had then in present possession; and the third in a sure reversion after the expiration of but one life, and that a short one too, but a span long; this present life is no more, by king David's just measure; 'Behold, thou hast made my days as it were a span long,' in comparison of eternity. Ps. 39. 5.

3. Man, by his apostasy from God, through the first original sin of wilful incogitancy, and through pride, did soon deprive himself of all these three lives at once; and so according to the just sentence of God, pronounced upon man aforehand for a fair warning, *morte morieris*, 'Thou shalt die the death,' man was justly precipitated from that high state of innocence and felicity into the base and damnable state of sin and misery; whereby every man, none excepted, but the God and man, Christ Jesus, is now by original sin become subject to a threefold death; first corporal, secondly spiritual, and thirdly, without repentance, eternal. Gen. 2. 17.

The first is death corporal; which is a total, but not final, separation of the soul from the body; the sad real text before our eyes.

The second is death spiritual; a far worse kind of death, a state of sin, which is a separation of the soul from the grace and favour of God, which is life itself, without which we are all by nature dead in trespasses and sins, children of wrath; no better. Ps. 30. 5. Eph. 2. 1.

The third and worst of all is death eternal; and therefore called in Holy Scripture the great death, the second death; because it is a final, total, and eternal separation of both soul and body from the glorious presence, beatifical vision, and Rev. 20. 6.

admirable and unspeakable fruition of God Himself; Whom as to serve here on earth is the life of grace, so to enjoy in heaven is the life of glory, which is life everlasting.

4. The first of these three, death temporal, none of us can avoid, die we must, die we shall; God prepare us all for it! But as the thing, death, is certain for the matter; so for the manner, how we shall die, in or out of our wits, as in frenzies, &c.; where we shall die, amongst friends or amongst foes; when we shall die, whether in youth or in old age; which way we shall die, whether by a sudden, violent, or painful death, which God in mercy arrest from us all, none of us all knows; and therefore our best course is, while we may, by a lively faith, timely repentance, and real amendment of life, to prepare for death[b]; and then, come death in what shape it will and welcome, we shall not die unprepared. Yet it concerns us all frequently and seriously to think of these great *quatuor novissima;* death, judgment, heaven, and
Deut. 32. 29. hell. It is Moses's passionate wish, 'O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end;' since it is appointed for all men once to die, and
Heb. 9. 27. after that comes judgment. The vulgar translation renders it *statutum est;* death is an universal statute-law to all mankind, and so it is both for authority of co-action and certainty of execution; for it is grounded upon two of the greatest attributes of God, which are,

First, God's infallible truth; for the commination was directed unto man, and that also in mercy, to forewarn him that he might not sin.

Secondly, God's exact justice, which requires the execution of the divine sentence to be done upon the same nature that had sinned. Man did sin, therefore man must suffer, that is, man must die; and because the first man, Adam, was the original root and general representative of all mankind, Adam's offspring, therefore all men must die, (pray God we all may die well,) or if they live to the end of the world, yet
1 Cor. 15. 51. they must suffer a change at the least, at the last, which change, whatever it be, (for it is a mystery,) will be equivalent

[b] S. Aug. de Discipl. cap. 2. [cap. xii. Opp., tom. vi. col. 436. edit. Benedict.] Non potest male mori, qui bene vixerit. Audeo dicere, non potest male mori, qui bene vixerit.

to a death; so that there lies an universal necessity to undergo a death, some kind of death.

In the ancient register of the Macrobii, those long-lived patriarchs, Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years, and he died; Methuselah, the longest liver of all mankind, lived nine hundred and sixty-nine years, and he died &c.; that is the burthen-song of them all; neither Methuselah the ancientest, nor Sampson the strongest, nor Solomon the wisest of men could exempt themselves from the fatal necessity of death. Seneca[c] himself, though but a heathen philosopher, being ignorant of the original cause of death, yet observing the generality of the event of death, drew his topic of consolation to his friend Polybius, sad for the death of his brother, from this necessity of death. But God be thanked, we Christians have better topics of comfort for the death of our Christian friends past, or our own death a-coming, by opposing, through faith, against the terror of our dissolution by death, the consideration of our admirable and comfortable conjunction with Christ our head after death. This glorious state is by St. Paul styled 'the manifestation of the sons of God,' for which by a natural instinct the whole creation groaneth with an earnest expectation of the accomplishment. The word in the original is very significant, *ἀποκαραδοκία*, which betokens the looking for some person or thing with lifting up of the head, or stretching out their necks with earnest intention and observation to see when the person or thing looked for shall appear; as a poor prisoner condemned looks out at the grates for a gracious pardon. And if the creatures inanimate &c., do so earnestly pant for the final redemption of the sons of God, how much more we, being the parties principally concerned? This made St. Paul, as it were with the hoised up sails of hope and desire, the affections of his soul, to long to be dissolved and to be with Christ. The original imports to loosen, or to launch forth, as a ship from a foreign port for a happy voyage towards her wished-for haven at home.

Gen. 5. 5.

Rom. 8. 19.

[See Schleusner.]

Phil. 1. 23. *ἀναλῦσαι* [See Schleusner.]

5. I have so much Christian charity for the surviving

[c] [Maximum ergo solatium est, cogitare id sibi accidisse quod ante se passi sunt omnes, omnesque passuri. L. A. Senecæ lib. de consolatione ad Polybium, inter Opp., p. 692. edit. Par. 1619.]

noble relations of the great man deceased, as to believe that if they could with their wishes and tears waft him over back from heaven to labour again on earth, they would not do it, if they loved him indeed, and not rather themselves. It is an excellent observation of Isidore [d] Pelusiota—he lived above twelve hundred years ago—who commenting on these words of our Saviour's compassion for Lazarus expressed by His tears, that it was not at the death of Lazarus, but that it was
Joh.11.35. at his resurrection that 'Jesus wept,' a real demonstration of His humanity, both natural and moral. This Father's note upon that difference is this, that our Saviour Christ's love towards Lazarus was a rational love, yea a divine love, not as ours towards our dead friends too too oft, too carnal or natural, or at the best a human love, if not a self-love; we wish them alive for our own ends. True it is, that it is very lawful, and also very fit, to pay our deceased friends their due tribute of grief, and to let nature have her course, lest
Rom.1.31. ἄστοργοι we should seem or appear without natural affection; but provided always that the current of nature do not overflow the banks of reason, much more the banks of religion settled by St. Paul, who would not have Christians to be sorry for
1 Thes. 4. 13. their deceased friends, as others who have no hope; for there is a lively hope of a joyful meeting again in the state of glory, if we in the state of grace do follow the saints deceased. Upon this consideration is worth the observing the different manner of mourning of Joseph for his father
Gen. 50. 3, 10. Jacob, his dear and near relation, for Joseph mourned seven days only; and of the Egyptians mourning seventy days for the same Jacob, a stranger to them. The reason of the difference is, because the Egyptians were unbelievers; but Joseph was a believer of the resurrection, and of a glorious meeting once again with his deceased father, from thenceforth never to be separated. This posy of sacred meditations I do now present to the noble relations of the deceased; desiring them to accept this offer, and to use it as a spiritual handkerchief to wipe off, if not drain, the spring of tears for this their deceased support.

6. Meanwhile our main care must be not to forfeit that

[d] [Isid. Pelus. Epist. Theodosio presbytero, διὰ τί ἐπὶ Λαζάρῳ ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ Κύριος. Lib. iii. ep. 173. p. 207. edit. fol. Par. 1638.]

glorious meeting by a course of life contrary to the good example of the saints departed; but instantly to resolve earnestly to study, constantly to endeavour, to live well, that is to say, to make the will of God the rule of our life, and the honour of God the end of our life; this is to live unto the Lord, that is, in subjection unto Him; and then we may be sure to die in the Lord, that is, under His protection, both of body and soul, for evermore. Rom. 14. 7, 8.

7. You may be pleased to remember that our text was two-faced, and therefore we compared it to the Israelites' guide through the wilderness, a cloud; we are now past the dark side of it, death, 'he being dead.' We must now face about and cheerfully behold the bright side of the cloud, wherein the dead speaketh, and here we have

1. The speaker, 'he.'
2. The speech implied, 'he speaketh.'
3. The time expressed, 'yet;' that is, after death:

'He being dead, yet speaketh.'

8. First, the speaker is Abel, whose name bears mankind's universal motto in the holy tongue, that is, vanity; for when all is done, 'vanity of vanities, all is vanity,' until the spirit of man 'return to God Who gave it;' till then, whatever pride may prompt vain man, verily every man living in his best estate, is altogether vanity. Selah! הבל [i. e. vanity] Eccl. 1. 2. Eccl. 12. 7. Ps. 39. 5.

Secondly, for his trade, he was a herdsman, for he offered to God the best of his flock, in due homage and as a figure of that Lamb of God Which was to come to 'take away the sins of the world.' No doubt he was well instructed by his parents, Adam and Eve, of whose conversion and salvation to doubt, (since the promise of the Blessed Seed preached unto them by Almighty God Himself after their fall, and which we must in reason suppose was apprehended and applied by them to themselves through faith, lest God's preaching should prove vain: such a suspicion or doubt of their eternal state) were in us, their posterity, an odious want of charity, and against the current of the ancient Fathers[e], who give for it this probable reason, that God did expressly curse the serpent and the earth, but God did not at all curse either Adam or Eve; Joh. 1. 29. Gen. 3. 15.

[e] Iren. Epiph. Chrysost. Augustin. &c. [See Perer. in Genes., cap. v. lib. vii. § 112. edit. fol. Colon. 1622.]

but contrariwise, God in mercy did bestow upon Adam an Eve the original and fundamental blessing of the Promise Seed, the Messiah, which is Christ Jesus our Lord an Saviour, in Whom all Adam and Eve's posterity should b blessed. And therefore they are not to be concluded within the number of the damned crew, upon whom shall be pro
Mat. 25. 41. nounced that dreadful final sentence of *Ite maledicti*; 'Go y cursed.' As a clear evidence of Adam and Eve's faith, w produce their works, namely the godly education of thei children, Cain and Abel, in God's true religion, to offer cor poral sacrifices &c., with a spiritual reference, and therefore with faith in the only expiatory and satisfactory sacrifice to
Gal. 4. 4. be performed in the fulness of time by the person of the Messiah, the second Adam, for the saving of mankind, as the first Adam was in the damning of mankind; both the Adams being public representatives of all mankind, as the first in the fall, so the second in the resurrection.

9. This just apology for our first parents, Adam and Eve, I thought it my filial duty to offer unto all mankind, Adam's offspring; once for all to stop the mouths of censorious children unmindful of their original duty, and of the rule
Gen. 9. 22, 23. *parentum mores non sunt arguendi.* Shem and Japhet were blessed for turning away their faces from their father's nakedness; but wicked Cham was for outfacing it cursed with a grievous curse[f].

10. It is very observable, that God had respect unto Abel first, and then to his sacrifice; to intimate that God first
ver. 4. accepts the person and then his service; for Abel offered by faith, but Cain without faith, for want of which God rejected the person of Cain, (though the elder brother,) and consequently his sacrifice.

Hence observe, that two men may come and worship God with the same kind of outward worship, and yet differ much in the inward manner and success of their service to God;

[f] This curse sticks to this day (above four thousand years) as a foul brand upon Cham in his cursed posterity; for the Egyptians and Ethiopians, or Blackamoors, are the descendants of cursed Cham (Lexic. Geographic Ferrarii, ad vocem Æthiopiam; Sam. Bochart, Geographia Sacra, parte i. lib. 4. cap. 1.) A people of all nations most inconvertible, even to a prophet's proverb (Jer. xiii. 23.) 'Can the Ethiopian change his skin,' &c.? A standing dreadful monument, and a thundering warning-piece to all such young Chams as dare to disgrace their parents privately, or rebel against them publicly.

itness Cain and Abel in the Old Testament, and the Pub- Lu. 18.
can and the Pharisee in the New. For the true religion is [10.]
hiefly inward for the substance, and not only outward for
he circumstance and ceremony; the religion of too many,
I had almost said of most formal professors now a days; an
artificial religion, as being moved chiefly, if not only, by out-
ward respects and objects, without any inward life; the want
of which did make a wide difference betwixt Cain, and Abel,
the speaker here. From whom to pass unto his speech, we
shall interpret it by a threefold exposition.

1. Grammatical.
2. Doctrinal.
3. Moral.

11. As to the grammatical exposition, I am not ignorant that the word λαλεῖται, in the original, may be *verbum medium*, and so may be translated either in the passive sense 'He is spoken of,' as some few interpreters[g] have rendered it, or in the active sense, to which I am rather carried by the clear and strong current of almost all interpreters, and the harmony of eight translations[h], both ancient and modern; who all render it actively, 'he speaketh.' This translation is confirmed by a clear parallel (Heb. xii. 24), where comparison being made betwixt the precious blood of Jesus Christ and that of Abel, it is expressed in the active sense λαλοῦντι; not in the passive, that 'the blood of sprinkling is better spoken of,' but in the active, that 'it speaketh better things than that of Abel.' *Ergo*, 'Abel being dead, yet speaketh,' *quod erat demonstrandum*. Enough of the grammatical exposition.

12. We pass now to the doctrinal exposition. The doctrine is this, that for the godly there is a life after this life; for 'Abel being dead yet speaketh.' But we know that dead men are speechless, and that speech is both a sign and an action of life. Abel is not absolutely dead; though dead in part, he still lives. We enlarge the instance from righteous Abel unto all the faithful; the total sum is this, that though

[g] [See Lud. de Dieu Animadv. in Epistolas, p. 321. edit. 1646.]

[h] Syriac, Vulgar, Ethiopic, Arabic, French, English, German, Italian; Clem. Alex. Chrysost. Vatablus, Zegerus, Grotius, Tena. [See Estius in Epistolas, ad loc. et Calovius, Bibl. Illustr. N. T., tom. ii. p. 1352.]

good men die, yet their good deeds die not; but they survive, and that in both worlds.

Prov. 31. 31. First, in this world, to their due praise, for 'their own good works praise them in the gates.'

Secondly, they live in the next world by their reward and Rev. 14. 13. coronation, for their 'works do follow them.' So many good works, so many living tongues of good men after death; Lu. 20. 36. who are therefore styled in the Holy Gospel 'the children of the resurrection.' And again, Abel still lives unto men in the memory of all good men, for to such the memory of the Prov. 10. 7. just shall be blessed, and the memory of their virtues calls for both our commemoration and imitation of them; which leads me to the third point propounded, which was the moral exposition.

13. For I suppose none that hear this are so gross of understanding as to imagine a vocal speech of the dead, which would be a miracle; but a speech analogical, by such Ps. 19. 1. a figure as the heavens speak when they declare the glory of God. The parallel of St. Chrysostom upon the speech of Abel, our speaker in the text, the Father after his wonted rhetoric amplifies it thus; 'If Abel had a thousand voices when he was alive, he hath many more now he is dead,' speaking to our admiration and imitation. But though the dead man's speech be no vocal speech, yet it is and will be a real speech for our conversion or condemnation to the end of the world; for Abel being dead, yet speaketh.

First, he speaketh by his repentance implied in his sacrifice, not only for homage due by all rational creatures, whether Angels or men, unto God their creator; but also as a tacit confession of sin to be expiated by the all-sufficient sacrifice of the promised Blessed Seed, the Messiah to come. And so Abel 'being dead, yet speaketh,' and was by his typical sacrifice the first prophet of the Old Testament. The good examples of holy men are standing real sermons; for there are two ways of preaching; by word, or deed. The first is good, the latter is better; but both are best.

Secondly, Abel 'being dead yet speaketh' by his faith expressed here in the text; which faith is a never-dying preacher to all ages of the Church, because it assureth all

the faithful, such as was Abel, of both God's regard, and reward of all His true servants who follow Abel's faith. Heb. 11. 6.

Thirdly, Abel 'being dead yet speaketh' by his works of righteousness, the necessary and best evidences of a lively faith, for which Abel stands canonized by God's own approbation and acceptance. First, of his person, that he was righteous; and then of his performance, his sacrifice. Therefore Abel is enrolled with Enoch, (verse 5,) for his communion of faith, godliness, and happiness; by which both Enoch and Abel pleased God. The Jewish Rabbins[i] and sundry Christian interpreters offer as a tradition this sign of God's acceptance of the sacrifice of Abel, to wit, by sending fire from heaven, (as upon Aaron's, and upon Solomon's, and upon Elijah's sacrifice,) which kindled the sacrifice of Abel the younger brother, and not that of Cain who was the elder brother. Some interpreters[k] think that this acceptation of Abel's sacrifice was a designation of Abel, the younger brother, to the priesthood before Cain, the elder brother; and that these were the occasion of Cain's envy, and his envy the cause of Abel's murder. By the way it is worthy our observation that all that come to worship God are either Abels or Cains; that is, they come with faith, or without faith, and they speed accordingly.

Jas. 2. 18. Heb. 11. 4. Lev. 9. 24. 2 Chron. 7. 1. 1 Kings 18. 38.

Fourthly and lastly, Abel 'being dead yet speaketh;' as in his life by his actions, so at his death by his patience and passion; for as St. Stephen was the proto-martyr of the New Testament, so was Abel the proto-martyr of the Old Testament; for he died for righteousness' sake. Hence some interpreters derive his name from אבל, which in the holy tongue signifies 'to mourn;' because he was the first man that did taste of death, for which and for whom his (and our first) parents, Adam and Eve, did begin to mourn.

As it is certain that sin (though but a beast) hath a voice, and (which is more strange in a beast) sin hath an articulate voice, and by a counter-passion, which is *lex talionis*, sin doth not only indite the sinner, but also indorseth upon the sinner's bill the parallel punishment for time or place, person or action, so that many times the punishment becomes the anagram of the sin. This even natural men do confess,

[i] Theodot. Theophyl., et alii. [k] Cornel. [à Lapide in loc.] Bertram.

witness Adonibezeck, 'As I have done, so God hath requite
Judg. 1. 7. me.' Which was also king David's case, blood for blood
2 Sam. 12. 10. such was the voice of sin and of their own consciences. Si
hath a voice indeed, and that a loud voice, for it reacheth s
high as heaven to God's ear, and from thence rebounds wit
an echo upon a man's own conscience. We read of the cr
Gen. 18. 20. of Sodom, and of the cry of the hireling's wages, kept fro
Jas. 5. 4. him; and here Abel's blood hath a voice that cries aloud fo
justice in God's ears; and as it were, prefers a bill of indict
ment. Upon which God, the just judge, immediately
arraigneth Cain, passeth judgment, and doth execution upon
Cain the fratricide; stamping a curse both upon his person
Gen. 4. 10. and estate, saying 'What hast thou done? the voice of thy
brother's blood cries unto Me from the ground, and now art
thou cursed from the earth which hath opened her mouth to
receive thy brother's blood from thine hand. When thou
tillest the ground it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her
strength. A fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the
earth.'

Now as sin hath a voice, so grace hath a voice also, calling upon us, as for our imitation of the virtues of the saints departed, so calling upon God for a gracious compensation of
Rev. 14. 13. their works which follow them after death, not at all by way of merit, but of God's free mercy; for what proportion betwixt man's works, which are but temporary and therefore finite, (all our best works are no more, and besides imperfect
Rom. 8. 18. all,) and God's high reward, which is infinite both for weight and for duration to all eternity?

Some interpreters add a fifth way, by which Abel 'being dead yet speaketh;' to wit, as a type; by his blood shed by Cain his brother prefiguring the blood of Christ shed by His brethren the Jews.

And thus many ways Abel 'being dead yet speaketh;' and so all good men, though dead, speak by their good works of faith and patience. In which blessed number, this dead man before our eyes was through God's grace listed, and so speaketh by his good deeds to his generation, and seems by his example to preach unto us all St. Paul's apostolical admo-
Gal. 6. 9. nition, not to be weary of well-doing, for in due season we shall reap (a reward) if we faint not: as our Christian hope

is, the deceased Prelate findeth it now, to his everlasting comfort.

O how gladly would I make an end here, and so come down! Sorry I am that I must now pass and descend from the literal text to this our real text lying before us. But it is a rule of Christian practice, that when God hath been pleased to reveal His will by the event, our humble resignation of ourselves and friends and all, with submission of our will to God's will, is our duty, and the best remedy to allay all our sorrows, and to say in the words and with the spirit of holy Job, 'The Lord hath given and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord,' which is part of our office for burial. In all this Job sinned not, no more should we if we would be followers of Job's faith and patience; which God grant us all, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to Whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be ascribed from Angels, from us, and from all men, praise, power, majesty and dominion, now and for ever. Amen.

Job 1. 21.

CONTENTS.

SERMON I.

(Page 1.)

Preached at St. Edward's in Cambridge, January the sixth, A.D. MDCXXI.; and at Coton, on the Second Sunday after Epiphany.

ST. MATTHEW ii. 1, 2.

Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, Behold, there came Wise Men from the East to Jerusalem,

Saying, Where is He That is born King of the Jews? for we have seen His star in the east, and are come to worship Him.

SERMON II.

(Page 24.)

A FUNERAL SERMON.

Preached at St. Martin's in the Fields, on the seventeenth of June, A.D. MDCXXIII. at the funeral of Mrs. Dorothy Holmes, sister to the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Durham.

2 CORINTHIANS v. 1, 2.

For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens.

For which we sigh and groan.

SERMON III.

(Page 44.)

Preached at Datchet, near Windsor, on the Second Sunday after Epiphany, A.D. MDCXXIV., at the marriage of Mr. Abraham De Laune, and Mrs. Mary Wheeler.

ST. JOHN ii. 1, 2.

And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee, and the Mother of Jesus was there.

And Jesus was also called, and His Disciples, unto the marriage.

SERMON IV.

(Page 58.)

Preached probably in 1625.

ST. MATTHEW iv. 6.

If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down headlong, for it is written, He shall give His Angels charge over Thee, and with their hands they shall bear Thee up, lest at any time Thou dash Thy foot against a stone.

SERMON V.

(Page 71.)

Preached probably in 1625.

ST. MATTHEW iv. 6.

For it is written, He shall give His Angels charge over Thee, and with their hands they shall bear Thee up, lest at any time Thou dash Thy foot against a stone.

SERMON VI.

(Page 85.)

Preached on the First Sunday in Advent, December 3, 1626, at the Consecration of the Bishop of Carlisle in Durham House Chapel, in London.

ST. JOHN XX. 21, 22.

. . . . . *Peace be unto you. As My Father sent Me, even so send I you.*

And when He had spoken these words, He breathed on them and said, Receive the Holy Ghost;

Whose sins you do remit they are remitted, &c.

SERMON VII.

(Page 106.)

Preached at Brancepath on the Fifth Sunday after Trinity, June 27, 1630.

PSALM CXXII. 6, 7.

Pray for the peace of Jerusalem, they shall prosper that love thee.

Peace be within thy walls and plenteousness within thy palaces.

SERMON VIII.

(Page 115.)

Preached at Durham, on the Feast of Pentecost, May 20, 1632.

ROMANS viii. 14.

Quicunque Spiritu Dei aguntur, ii sunt filii Dei.

For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, those are the sons of God.

SERMON IX.

(Page 131.)

Preached at Brancepath, July 8, 1632.

EXODUS xx. 3.

Non habebis deos alienos coram Me.

Thou shalt have no other gods before My face, or, *no other gods but Me.*

SERMON X.

(Page 143.)

Preached at Brancepath in 1632.

EXODUS xx. 3.

Non habebis deos alienos coram Me.

Thou shalt have no other gods but Me.

SERMON XI.

(Page 153.)

Preached at Brancepath in 1633.

EXODUS xx. 8.

Memento, ut diem Sabbathi sanctifices, &c.

Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day, six days shalt thou labour, &c.

SERMON XII.

(Page 166.)

Preached at Brancepath in 1633.

EXODUS xx. 9, 10.

Sex dies operabis et facies omnia opera tua.
Septimo autem die Sabbatum Domini Dei tui est; non facies omne opus in eo.

Six days shalt thou labour and do all that thou hast to do.
But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt do no manner of work.

SERMON XIII.

(Page 177.)

Preached at Brancepath in 1633.

EXODUS XX. 10.

But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou and thy son and thy daughter, thy man-servant and thy maid-servant, thy cattle and the stranger that is within thy gates, &c.

SERMON XIV.

(Page 190.)

Preached at Paris, September 11, 1650.

PSALM CXXIX. 5.

Confundantur omnes qui oderunt Sion.

Let them be confounded, as many as have evil will at Sion.

SERMON XV.

(Page 206.)

Preached at Paris, on Sexagesima Sunday, Feb. 12, 1651.

GENESIS iii. 13.

Et dixit Dominus Deus ad mulierem, &c.

And the Lord God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, [and I did eat.]

SERMON XVI.

(Page 220.)

Preached at Paris, March 5, 1651.

GENESIS iii. 13, 14.

And the Lord God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me and I did eat.

And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed, &c.

SERMON XVII.

(Page 236.)

Preached at Paris, on the Fifth Sunday in Lent, March 26, 1651.

GENESIS iii. 13.

And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me.

SERMON XVIII.

(Page 248.)

Preached at Paris, on the Octave of the Festival of the Resurrection. April 16, 1651.

ST. JOHN xx. 9.

Nondum enim sciebant Scripturas, &c.

For as yet they knew not the Scriptures, that He must rise from the dead.

SERMON XIX.

(Page 263.)

Preached at Paris, on the Sunday after the Festival of the Ascension, May 21, 1651.

ACTS i. 9, 10, 11.

Et hæc locutus, videntibus iisdem, in altum sublatus est, &c.

Et ecce! duo viri astiterunt illis in vestibus albis.

And when He had spoken these things, while they beheld, He was taken up; and a cloud received Him out of their sight.

And while they looked steadfastly toward heaven as He went up, behold two men stood by them in white apparel.

Which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking up into heaven? This same Jesus, Who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven.

SERMON XX.

(Page 276.)

Preached at Paris, on the Festival of our Saviour's Nativity, 1651.

ST. JOHN i. 9, 10.

Erat Ille lux illa, et vera illa lux, &c.

He was that light, or, *That light was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and He was in the world.*

SERMON XXI.

(Page 291.)

Preached at Paris, on the Second Sunday after the Nativity of our Lord, January 5, 1653.

St. Matthew ii. [1. and] 2.

Venerunt magi .... dicentes, ... Vidimus enim stellam Ejus in oriente.

There came wise men .... and said, ... For we have seen His star in the east.

SERMON XXII.

(Page 306.)

Preached at Paris, on the Festival of the Nativity of Christ 1665.

1 Timothy iii. 16.

Magnum est pietatis mysterium, Deus manifestatus in carne.

Great is the mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh.

APPENDIX I.

(Page 325.)

Preached at Durham House, on the eve of the Epiphany, Sunday the 5th of January, 1622-[23]

St. Matthew ii. 1, 2.

Now when Jesus was born in Bethlem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, Behold there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem,

Saying, Where is He That is born king of the Jews? for we have seen His star in the east, and are come to worship Him.

APPENDIX II.

(Page 331.)

FRAGMENT OF A FUNERAL SERMON.

APPENDIX III.

(Page 337.)

Preached at Brancepath, on the Second Sunday after Trinity.

ST. LUKE xiv. 16—20.

A certain man made a great supper, and bade many;
And sent his servant at supper time to say to them that were bidden, Come; for all things are now ready.
But they all at once began to make excuse. The first said, I have bought a farm, and I must needs go see it; I pray thee have me excused.
Another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them; I pray thee have me excused.
And another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come, &c.

APPENDIX IV.

(Page 339.)

PSALM cxxii. 6.

Rogate pacem . . .
Pray for the peace of Jerusalem, they shall prosper that love it.

APPENDIX V.

(Page 343.)

ST. MATTHEW xiii. 27, 28.

So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? From whence then hath it those tares?
He saith unto them, The envious man hath done this.

APPENDIX VI.

(Page 348.)

Preached at Paris, the Gospel for the Fifth Sunday after the Epiphany, 1651.

St. Matthew xiii. 24.

Simile est regnum cœlorum homini seminanti in agro, &c.

The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that sowed good seed in his field:

But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way.

But when the blade was sprung up, and had brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also.

So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares?

He said unto them, The enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and weed them up?

But he said, Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them.

Let both grow together till the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye first the tares, and bind them together in bundles to be burnt; but gather the wheat into my barn.

APPENDIX VII.

(Page 351.)

Preached at Paris, on the First Sunday after Trinity, June 11, 1651.

St. Matthew xiii. 24, 25.

Simile est regnum cœlorum homini seminanti in agro, &c.

The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that sowed good seed in his field.

But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way.

SERMON I[a].

PREACHED AT ST. EDWARD'S IN CAMBRIDGE, JANUARY THE SIXTH, A.D. MDCXXI., AND AT COTON, ON THE SECOND SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY.

ST. MATTHEW ii. 1, 2.

Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king, Behold, there came Wise Men from the East to Jerusalem,

Saying, Where is He That is born King of the Jews? for we have seen His star in the East, and are come to worship Him.

I CHOSE my text for the time, the celebration of this day, that we may keep Solomon's rule, *verbum diei in die suo;* and therefore before I come to the text I will say a little of the day, this Epiphany, this manifestation of our Lord and Saviour. Prov. 15. 23.

We are still at the feast of Christmas, and this is the last and great day of the feast, as St. John said of another. A feast of joy it has been all this while, but this day was given us that our joy might be full[b]. They were tidings of joy that the Angels brought, a while since, to the shepherds, Jews, hard at hand; but when the glad tidings of the Gospel came abroad once to all the people, as this day they came so, then were they no more tidings of ordinary, but of great joy. 'Behold, I bring you tidings,' saith the Angel, but not to you alone; though to you, yet to others as well as you, 'which shall be to all people.' Hitherto, then, it was *Evangelizo vobis, vobis Judæis,* but to-day it was *omni populo;* that now a Saviour was born unto us all, Which was Christ the Lord. And indeed this is our Christmas-day, that were Joh. 7. 37. Lu. 2. 10.

[a] See Appendix No. 1. "Of the High and Great Feast of Christ's Epiphany."

[b] See Bishop Overall's Annotations

SERM. I.

Gentiles; for though Christ was born twelve days since in Jury[1], yet He came not abroad the world while[2] now, and to us He seemed as yet unborn (being but like a rich treasure in a man's field, at this time not known to be so,) till He was this day manifested unto us in the persons of these Wise Men, the first fruits of the Gentiles[c].

[1] Judæa
[2] until

There were many Epiphanies before this, for it was made manifest many times before. To the Blessed Virgin first, for she knew it nine months before, and then to John Baptist, before he was born himself, for he could seem in the womb to point at Him, when His mother came, *Ecce Agnus Dei, Qui tollit peccata mundi.* And after He was born, the shepherds had tidings of the Lamb of God too. But all these were the Epiphanies of some few persons only, and the new Morning Star was seen but a little way, as far as Mary's family, or a field hard by, and no further. Now to-day His lightnings gave shine unto the world, and at His Epiphany not a few persons at home, or near at hand, but the nations abroad, even at the ends of the earth, had news brought them of it from heaven; and now this day not Jury only, (that was too straight for Him who must have the heathen given Him for His inheritance,) but the whole world was the better for Christ's nativity. A true Christmas-day this, and Christmas rejoicing right, when all fare the better for it. Before, the heathen were about the hedges, shut quite out of doors; but to-day the gates were set open for them, as well as for the Jews. Which community was well figured, as the common[d] note is, in the place that Christ would have His nativity happen in, even in a common inn, where every one might come, the Gentile as welcome as the Jew; and because perhaps they would not be together in one chamber, (for we read that the Jews meddle not with the Samaritans, nor keep their company,) therefore Christ would be born in the stable, where there is no distinction made, but all put together in one room. Or if an inn be not large enough, there is another figure will hold all the world, and that is the time of taxing

Lu. 1. 41. Joh. 1. 29.

Ps. 97. 4. Prayer Book version.

Ps. 8. 1.

Joh. 4. 9.

[c] Illi magi, quidnam fuerunt nisi primitiæ gentium. S. August. Serm. 4. de Epiphan. Opp. v. 637. His divinæ gratiæ mysteriis eruditi, diem primitiarum nostrarum et inchoationem vocationis gentium rationabili gaudio celebremus. S. Leo, Bibl. Patr. v. ii. 814.

[d] See Suarez in 3 part. S. Thomæ, q. xxxv. art. 7 and 8. sec. iii. § 'Secundo dicitur.'

the whole earth, as St. Luke says, just at this time, wherein Lu. 2. 1.
Christ would be born, to tell us that He came to be the
Saviour of the whole earth. For though it was but in a little
town, saith St. Leo[e], yet the great world fared the better for
His nativity; nay, it is but a small thing, saith God Himself,
in Isaiah, to raise the tribes of Jacob, or to restore the decays
of Israel, I will give Thee a light to the Gentiles, and a salva- Isa. 49. 6.
tion unto the end of the world. There He promised it, and
this day He was as good as His word, for now, even this day,
our eyes have seen His salvation, which He hath prepared,
not for Jacob or Israel only, but before the face of all people,
and to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, as well as to be the Lu. 2. 30.
glory of His people Israel. And we have heard with our
ears, O God, and our fathers have told us of old, how Thou Ps. 44. 1, 2.
hast not driven out the heathen, as David there speaks, but
planted them in, fetched them home that were gone astray
before, fetch[ed] them to Thy blessed flock, that we might be Joh. 10. 16.
all one fold under that great Shepherd, That would give His
life for His flock.

This then is the day which the Lord hath made, made it
and made us with it too; indeed He had made us before,
but we had marred His workmanship; now to-day we came
to be made again, and our second making made us for ever,
we were now become His workmanship in Christ Jesus, as Eph. 2. 10.
St. Paul calls it. This is the day that the Lord hath made
for us, and therefore this should be the day that we should
make for Him too; rejoice and be glad in it, as it follows Ps. 118. 24.
there in the Psalm, and as it follows here in the Gospel too;
for St. Matthew says, a little after the text, that when they saw
the star they rejoiced exceedingly, and so they proved the Mat. 2. 10.
Angel's words true, tidings of great joy. And now I know Lu. 2. 10.
there is no question but that most of us will rejoice too; nay,
the world shall know that we do not mean to pass this day
away without that. But such joy we commonly use as, God
knows, will end with weeping and gnashing of teeth: our
mouth shall be filled with laughter, if ye will, and we will Ps. 126.
be like them that dream, as the Prophet speaks, but not for [1, 2.]
the turning of our captivity this day from bondage, a worse

[e] S. Leo, Serm. in Nativ. ap. Bibl. Patr. v. ii. 815.

SERM. I. than that in Babylon, from the bondage of sin and hell itself. 'Sing we merrily unto God our strength,' saith the
Ps. 81. 1. Psalm. No, 'Sing merrily,' an ye will, so far we go; but if we come to 'God our strength,' then our voice is quite gone, we have no skill in such songs, and yet this must be our rejoicing, or else all our Christmas sport is but spoiled. It is true these are all days of joy indeed, of great joy; joy
Is. 9. 3. as much as ye will, even as they joy in harvest, saith Isaiah; but be sure ye take that along to make your joy sweet which the Holy Virgin taught us at the very first news of all, of any
Lu. 1. 46. Christmas rewards, at the Annunciation, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour."

And this day became God the Saviour of the Gentiles, when we might see the star tell us, as Christ afterward told
Lu. 19. 9. the publican, this day was salvation come unto us; even this last day of all the solemnity it came, to make it greater than the rest, the greatest of all the twelve, as the Catholic Church hath ever accounted it, the great and proper feast of the Gentiles, such as we were before it, and the last day was always the greatest day of the feast, as you may see in the
Joh. 7. 37. Gospel. So I did not amiss to call this day at first, the great and last day of our Christmas solemnity. Last. I'll warrant you every tradesman will tell you (specially if he has got a twang in his head) that all these observations of times are but popish customs, they will not celebrate ye a day longer; nay, not so long neither, but for the law; the day of the Gentiles' calling, what is that to them? They have a tribe and a calling by themselves, that was marked out for heaven sure long before either Jews or Gentiles were stirring. And 'great' too, for the great and wide world was blessed this
Lu. 1. 78; 2 Pet. 1. 19. day with the day-star from on high, with the glad tidings of the Gospel, the tidings of the great Shepherd and the great King, the great King above all gods. Or because we will be sure to make it a great and high day, higher than the rest; if this Epiphany alone will not do it, we have two or three more actions, of that dignity that they would make high days of themselves, to add to it; for this day, saith St. Gregory Nazianzen[f], was Christ also baptized in Jordan, and

[f] S. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. xxxix. in sancta lumina, Opp. 1. 624.

therefore he calls his oration, *De baptismo Christi—Epiphania Domini*[g]. Before, He was born to us upon this day, and now He is baptized for us upon the same day too. And because it should want no honour, we read that a year after His baptism He wrought His first miracle at a marriage upon this day too, saith Maximus; or, an ye will not believe him, the Second Lesson [appointed by] our own Church will tell you as much. They are three only things which the Church hath ever observed for to preserve the honour of the day: and if you will have a fourth to make more exceeding this day than any other we read of, this was the day saith Origen, and St. Augustine after him, wherein He fed four thousand in the wilderness with a few loaves and two fishes. *Ecce, quam magna et mirabilia fecit.* Behold now, 'how many and how wonderful things He hath done for us to-day,' made us, baptized us, married us, fed us, all in this one day. And therefore among the ancients (as St. Hierome for one in whom I have read it, but Maximus saith he hath seen it in many more) it is not *dies Epiphaniæ*, in the singular number, but *Epiphaniarum*, a day of many manifestations[h].

Joh. 2. 1—12.

Mat. 14. 17.

And well may it be called thus, a day of many Epiphanies, were it but for the Gentiles' coming only; for if ever many things were opened at once that were hid before, shadows of things to come, it was surely this day. For though there was no such matter thought on before, yet now it is made manifest what was figured by these same *Exploratores*, the spies that went out beforehand to see the Land of Promise. And now ye may perceive plainly what it was that Solomon's Temple must have the wood from Lebanon amongst the

Josh. 6. 23.

1 Kings 5. 1, 10. 1 Ch. 29. 2.

[g] See the passages collected by Casaubon in his ii Exercit. ad Ann. Card. Baron. pp. 168, 169. edit. Genev. 1655. and by Suicer, in his Thesaur. v. Ἐπιφάνεια.

[h] Latini scriptores causas hujus solemnitatis tres assignarunt, magorum adventum, baptisma Christi, et primum in Cana miraculum; quæ tria miracula eadem die sed annis diversis putabant esse facta, ut prolixe explicant Eucherius Lugdunensis, Homilia in Vigilia S. Andreæ, et Petrus Chrysologus, Serm. 157. ... Sunt et qui rationem quartam afferant, propter miraculum quinque panum. B. Augustinus de Tempore, in festo Epiphaniæ Domini, Serm. 1. 'Hodie illud festum [*al.* sacramentum] colimus, quo se in homine Deus virtutibus declaravit; pro eo quod in hac die, sive quod in cœlo stella ortus sui nuntium præbuit; sive quod in Cana Galilææ in convivio nuptiali aquam in vinum convertit; sive quod in Jordanis undis aquas ad reparationem humani generis suo baptismo consecravit; sive quod de quinque panibus quinque millia hominum satiavit. In quolibet horum salutis nostræ mysteria continentur et gaudia. Casaub. Exercit. Baron. p. 169.

SERM. I. Gentiles, as well as stones at home among the Jews; and th
Hiram king of Tyrus must help to build God's house as w
1 Kings 5. 17. as himself, king of Jerusalem, and afterwards have twen
1 Kings 9. 11. cities given him for the Jews and Gentiles to dwell togeth
in. And now it is plain what is meant that not Gideo
Judg. 6. 37, 38. fleece alone, but the whole earth must be spread over wi
the morning dew; and that Moses had married a woman
Ex. 2. 21. Ethiopia; and that Samson must leave the daughters of h
Judg. 14. 1. brethren, and first marry an uncircumcised Philistine, an
Judg. 16. 4. then fall in love with the harlot Dalilah: which manifes
likewise what we were, for before this day we went a whorin
after our own inventions. And therefore it was well figure
again in that, that God would have Hosea go and take unt
Hos. 1. 2. him a wife of fornications; and that a woman in captivity
Esth. 2. 18. must be married to Assuerus the king; and that Mose
Ex. 2. 10. the servant of God must be adopted the son of Pharaoh's
Gen. 26. 3. daughter; and that Isaac must have the inheritance, though
Ismael were the eldest; and Jacob have the birth-right,
Gen. 26. 33. Rom. 9. 13. though Esau were the first-born (which is St. Paul's ap-
plication to the very honour of this day); and so that Ephraim
must be put at the right hand of Jacob, though Manasses
Gen. 48. 13. were the elder son, howsoever it displeased Joseph; and
that Joseph himself must be sold for a bond-slave into Egypt,
as we were before, and afterwards exalted to the golden chain
Gen. 37. 36; 41. 42, 43. and the best chariot that Pharaoh had, to the height of his
kingdom, as we are now, for thus were we this day exalted;
and lastly, that his father Jacob must have children by Leah
Gen. 35. 23, 24. that was blear-eyed, as well as by Rachel, that was beautiful
and fair.

I hope by this time, it is clear why this day should be called the Epiphany; there were so many things made known in it, that lay under a cloud before; for these were all shadows yet. But now when this star arose, it enlightened them all, made them manifest what they all figured, even this day's calling of the Gentiles. Take but any of them; the blear-eyed Leah will tell us how blind we were before, as blind as men that grope in the dark, in the darkness of ignorance, darkness as black as that of Egypt; and that therefore this star, this day-spring from on high, did appear to-day to give light to them that sit in darkness and

in the shadow of death, and to guide our feet into the way of peace; of peace right, for before we were at mighty variance with heaven. Before, we could hear of nothing but, to execute vengeance upon the heathen, and to bind their kings in chains; but to-day the heathen are come into God's inheritance, and without complaint too; no more indignation now to be poured upon them, as it follows there in the Psalm, but God now reigneth over the heathen, and the princes of the people are gathered unto the people of the God of Abraham; and though the Gentiles did rage before, and the kings of the earth did band themselves against the Lord's Anointed, yet to-day they grew wise and took David's counsel, 'Be wise now therefore, O ye kings;' they came and joined themselves together for a better purpose, to worship the Lord's Anointed, Christ the Lord. Before this time God was known in Jury only, and His name was great in Israel alone, but now there is neither speech nor language but His voice hath been heard among them; and since the heavens have declared His glory, as this day they did, His sound is gone even unto the ends of the world, as far as the Magi of the East. Yea, though we were dogs before, and must not have the children's bread given us, as Christ bespake the woman, yet now He hath given us power to be the sons of God, as St. John speaks.

Ps. 149. 7, 8. Ps. 47. 8, 9. Ps. 2. 2, 10. Ps. 76. 1. Ps. 9. 13. Ps. 19. 1. Rom. 10. 18. Mat. 13. 26. Joh. 1. 12.

It was David's prayer that God would think upon His inheritance, and whensoever He thought upon it, to-day we are sure He did, and it was time to think and have mercy upon her, yea O Lord, the time was come, for it pitied Thee to see us in the dust. And therefore as soon as Christ did but ask of Him, as the Psalmist speaks, He gave Him the heathen for His inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession.

Ps. 74. 3. Ps. 102. 13, 14. Ps. 2. 8.

And though we were never so far remote, men of the East and at the ends of the earth, as I tell you, yet God heard our cry to bring us out of bondage, and to turn our captivity like the rivers in the South. A cruel captivity, as I told you before, worse by far than that in Babylon or the land of Goshen; yet from this captivity, from this house of bondage, hath God this day delivered us. And now we are at deliverance, will ye mark how like our deliverance to-day

Ps. 126. 5.

SERM. I. was to theirs out of Egypt in every point. When Israel came out of Egypt, the sea fled so fast that David was fain to ask
Ps. 114. 5. what it ailed: and might not we this day stand wondering, not at the sea, but at that which governs the sea, the heavens and the stars, for going backward? for this star that led these Wise Men went quite cross to all the other. Then as Pharaoh, he and all his host were troubled to hear the news of their delivery, and raged so much that a man might ask them what ailed them too, so Herod here (ye may see it in the very next
Mat. 2. 3. words to my text) he no sooner heard of our news, the news of Gentiles coming to Christ, but presently he and all Jerusalem were troubled at it; and how he raged, the voice of weeping and howling that was heard in Rama, and Rachel that mourned for her children and would not be comforted, or the men of war, that knew what belonged to raging best, shall tell us, who went and slew all the poor young children in Bethlem, where Herod thought to have put out the light that this day gave shine unto the world; but he was deceived, it was too high for his reach. And last of all, as Pharaoh, for
Ex. 14. 27. all his raging, was overwhelmed and drowned in the Red Sea, so Herod here, howsoever he lived a while longer, yet he drowned himself, while he lived, in the Red Sea too, even the sea of blood.

So then, for a conclusion, as God hath made this our day's deliverance like theirs, as we see in all points, what have we to do but to make the day, as they made it too, a day of joy and thanksgiving, a day of a solemn and set service. Moses
Ex. 15. 20. with a song and Miriam with a timbrel in her hands that day. Woe to us if we had been still constrained to dwell in
Ps. 120. 5. Mesech, or to have had our habitation among the tents of Kedar; then we might indeed have sat like unto them that
Ps. 137. 2. mourn and have hanged our harps upon the willows. But since we are brought out of darkness, and now sit no more in
Lu. 1. 79. the shadow of death, but have our feet guided by the light of His star, our hearts made glad with the tidings of the Gospel, now bring hither the tabret and harp, and blow up the
Ps. 81. 2. trumpet of praise, for this is our solemn feast day.

And so I have done with the feast, and from the day I come to *opus diei*, from the time to the text, though I have not been far from it all this while.

'Now when Jesus was born in Bethlem.' And now when I begin to read my text, methinks it is not *opus diei*, it doth not agree with the time, for Christ was not born in Bethlem to-day, and indeed unless we go on it will not be *verbum in die suo*, Solomon's rule. And therefore to make it so, it follows, 'Behold Wise Men came from the East to Jerusalem, saying, Where is He That is born King of the Jews, for we have seen,' &c.

The text would do well to have no division to-day, because it is a day of union, wherein they that were divided before were made one under Christ; and therefore I might only call it the Epiphany, one general head, and so away. But because we have been long enough about that, and for order's sake too, you may observe these parts.

1. A peregrination, 'Behold there came from the East to Jerusalem;' the first point.

2. 'There came'—not poor pilgrims or beggars that had nothing else to do, but—the great ones, the sages of the land, *Ecce, Magi venerunt;* and that is the second point, the persons that came.

3. And they came, not like men that had no comfort or company in their journey, that they knew not; but a gladsome director they had to go along with them, a star in the firmament; and that is the third.

4. Then for the fourth have you the end of their journey; the kings of the East came just as the queen of the South did, to see the king of the Jews, and therefore they ask, Where is the King of the Jews? Yet here they differed; for she came to hear and see and they came to worship, and we are come to worship Him. 1 Kings 10. 1.

5. And the last point of all is, the present occasion of their coming; which was Christ's being then newly born at Bethlehem—'When Jesus' &c.—And here the kings' coming differed from the queen's again, for she came to see Solomon in his full strength, and these to worship Christ in the beginning of His age; she to behold him in all his royalty, in his royal throne, in his kingly city; these to behold Christ in all His poverty, His robes being but the poor swaddling-clouts that His Mother's mantle could make Him, His attendants not lords of the chamber but beasts of the field, and His

SERM. I. throne not of six fair steps, or a great throne of ivory co-
2 Chron. 9. 17, 18. vered over with gold, but a rude manger covered perhaps with dust, or at the best His Mother's arms. This was the magnificence that they came to see, and this the King That they took all this pains to search and come from the East this day to worship.

1. I will handle the occasion first, because that lays first in the text, and so I will deal with all the rest. When Jesus was (1) born at (2) Bethlem, in the (3) days of (4) Herod the king; that is the occasion; and I will not handle it neither, I will but even touch it and so away; because, as I said before, it is not proper to the day. But somewhat we will make of it though, and because it stands in our way to the star, we will make a ladder of it, to bring us up thither, and we will go up apace too, for the time is short, and we have much to do when we come there.

There be but four steps in it, and the first step hits right; for it is fit to be the lowest of all, it is Christ's humility. *Cum natus esset Jesus,* when He was born, that Jesus Who was the Son of the living God, as St. Mark begins his
Mark 1. 1. Gospel, should come to be the son of Joseph, as St. Matthew
Mat. 1. 16. begins his; that the immortal God Himself should come to be a mortal man, the Lord of Life come and subject Himself to the state of dying men,—this is beyond all degrees of lowliness. It had been humility enough, sure, had it been only *Cum Jesus esset in Bethlem,* and *natus* left out, to have been there at all, for the Son of God to have visited the sons of men in what majesty best befitted Him; but to be born, *Cum natus esset,* that was too much for Him, man that is
Ps. 103. 15, 16. born of a woman, saith David, is a thing of nought. Nay, *factus* then had been far less, for so He might have had a perfect body framed Him, and 'made,' in the vigour of His age, as Adam was, and so have escaped the diseases of childhood: but now, not to be 'made,' but to be 'born,' that is to endure many more miseries, misery within the womb and misery without it, the age next the birth is full of them. Yet for all this, *Jesus natus est,* He did not abhor the Virgin's womb (a thing we may see by that to be abhorred,) but was even content to be 'born' for us, as all miserable men are. This is the first step.

2. But the second step is more lowliness yet, it comes a degree higher; a strange virtue this humility hath, that the lower it goes the higher it riseth.

Not 'born' only, but 'born in Bethlem;' the place where Jesus was born, in Bethlem. Why, if Jesus, the Son of God, must needs be born, a man would think He would have had a place fit for His birth; the glorious heaven would not have been amiss for this purpose, and therefore if Mary had been assumed into it beforehand, as they say she was afterwards[k], there to have brought Him forth, it had been somewhat like Himself. Or if not there, because He must have come down upon the earth howsoever, yet the city of the great King, the city of David, would have done well; for we use to say that the place doth not a little dignify the birth; and therefore St. Paul knew how well it would do to say that he was born at Tarsus, a famous and a noble city in Cilicia. But now in little Bethlem, one of the out and despised cities, was Christ content to be born in; and there, not in a palace, or any house of His own, or His Mother's either, but in an inn among the common people. In an inn? No, I was mistaken, there was no room for Him there, it was in the stable among the common beasts, and no soft couch spread for Him there neither. It was even in a cold hard cratch[l], in a very corner of the stable too. A man was he? a very worm, and no man; the scorn and the outcast of the people. Look ye, here is a ladder alone. Not in the glorious city of heaven, nor in any glorious city of earth neither, nor in any glorious house of any city; but in a mean city, and in a mean house too, and not by any right of His own in a mean house, but in a common inn, where every body had to do as well as He; and not in any chamber there, as the meanest comer would take up, that, but in the stable; and not in any large or sequestered room neither, but in a corner of the cratch. So far as He could go, no further, nor I neither; but this was strange; Him whom the heaven of heavens could not contain before, to be thus pent up: this was humility, lowliness to the height.

Acts 21. 39.

[l] a manger

Ps. 22. 6.

And now we are come to the top of the ladder. For besides

[k] See Suarez in 3 Thomæ, tom. ii. p. 198.

SERM. I.

His immortality and immensity, which ye see these two, 'born,' and 'born at Bethlem,' have humbled well enough, He had other attributes to be brought low too; His eternity first, and then His power.

3. So we make the third step to be 'in the days;' when Jesus was born at Bethlem in the days. That He That was without beginning or ending, Which made the evening and the morning to be the first day for us, Which was the ancient of days Himself, that He should be born *in diebus*, 'in the days,' this must needs be one degree more. It was enough, one might suppose, that place must measure Him before, the stable in Bethlem; but to have time measure Him too, to be made a man of thirty-three years of age, that
Ps. 22. 6. is to be more vile yet, as David said. And because we are at the time, we will see what time He was born too; for though it was in the days of Herod, yet it was in the night time, and in the winter time besides. For the winter, our yearly observation of the feast will tell us it was so; and for the night,
Lu. 2. 8. St. Luke saith, it was when the shepherds were keeping their flocks by night, as you may read in his Gospel. Now the day time might have afforded some comfort, or the summer time at least might have helped the nakedness of His tender body; but in a cold, winter night to be born, there His charity was hot, that was fervent love indeed.

4. But it is not *in diebus* only, but *in diebus Herodis*, in the days of Herod the king, and that is a degree further, the fourth step; to have His power made subject to a tyrant. He That was the head of all, it was strange to have Him live under any power, or if under any, yet not under a wicked and a cruel tyrant. If He must needs have a king over Him, it would have been good to have had such a one as
Gen. 41. Pharaoh was to Joseph, or Assuerus to Esther, or Darius to
41. Est. 2. 17. Daniel; but to have another Pharaoh arise, that knew Him
Dan. 6. 1. not, and in his time to be born, and to have a Herod that
Exod. 1. 8. would make a howling over all Rama but he would kill Him, and then to come, this was more strange than all the rest. And yet, now I think of it, *in diebus Herodis* was a very fit time for Him, it was time He should come, for the sceptre was gone from Judah and Christ must come to the Jews. As long as it tarried there, God's prophets were enough to be

sent; but when it came under strangers once, and under Herod, a cruel and wicked king, when the law of God was held in unrighteousness, then it was a just time for the Just One, the Son of God, to come; none could recover the kingdom but He, and He went a strange way about it; if He had not told us that His kingdom was not of this world, we might have wondered at it, and so we do still, to go no further than the text; for who would have been born in Jury at such a time as he must presently run into Egypt before he could go alone. This was to add misery upon misery, one degree upon another, till He came to the highest pitch of humility. Count we; immortality itself made a mortal man, *natus*, the first step; immortality confined within a cratch, *natus in Bethlem*, the second; eternity measured by time, *in diebus*, the third; power made subject to tyranny, *in diebus Herodis regis*, the fourth. By this time we are come to the very top of the ladder.

Where we may stand and see, not the Angels descending, as Jacob did, but the Son of God Himself descending from the bosom of His Father to the womb of His Mother, from heaven to earth, and this was the ladder He made for us to go up to heaven by; for unless He had come down, we should never have gone up. Whether He came with all His lowliness but to lead us up again, and to tell us that here was nothing to be looked for, here below; for if there had, the Wise Men to-day lost their labour in seeking Him out for a king. And therefore He lifts up their eyes to heaven, to the bright star there; which, for all His lowliness here, gave them to understand that He had a kingdom in a better world. And thus we see how this ladder hath brought us from earth to heaven. But yet before we meddle with the star, because *Ecce Magi* stands first in the text, we will come to them first, and that shall be my order in the rest, howsoever the division went; and now we are at *opus diei*, the proper text of the day. I have made a preparation, you see, to it, as St. Matthew did, that we might all account it the more solemn. Gen. 28. 12.

And first of all, we cannot but take notice of this same *Ecce*, Behold. It is a word set up for the nonce[1], a mark set up in our journey to Jerusalem, and it hath two faces, [1] for the occasion

SERM. I. two uses in the text, one to make us look backwards, and another to make us look forwards; backwards to a word, if ye mark it, that we have left out all this while, *Cum*, 'When,' Christ was born; and forwards to all the rest, 'Behold, when He was born there came Wise Men from the East to Jerusalem.' Then, and not before, that is the first; and again, though not before, yet then, that is the second. So it hath two fingers, we see, to point backwards, first, *cum natus*, 'when He was born,' 'they came,' *venerunt*, and not before; for as long as there was nothing to be heard of but wrath and indignation upon the heathen, there was no coming to God, but like children that had heavily offended their father, were naturally fearful to come near so long; Joh. 13. 8. nay, as long as Peter considers himself a sinful man, Christ Gen. 3. 10. must not come near him neither; and Adam must hide himself in the bushes. Men with all their sins about them [1] until cannot endure to come near God; and therefore while[1] He sent His Son to be born, That should save men from their sins, there was no encouragement to come. But now, *cum natus*, once, the second thing, then, *Ecce Magi*, Behold, the Wise Men came presently. Now, saith your new translation, instantly upon His birth they came, and go we and celebrate the day so. And so the publicans in the Gospel; they knew not, poor men, what they should think of themselves as long as the Pharisees were accounted the *ipses* of the age, and Lu. 18. 11. they but *iste publicanus* and *hæc mulier*. But when they saw Mat. 26. 13. Christ keep company with them, and send into the hedges and contemned places for the halt and the heathen, then Lu. 15. 1. they began to take heart; then, saith St. Luke, drew near unto Him all the publicans and sinners. So, though we were Ezek. 33. 11. afraid before, yet when we hear God say once, 'As I live, I Lu. 14. 23. will not the death of a sinner,' and Christ, that there is room yet at supper for them which sat at the land's end in corners and hedges, that breeds some comfort. And so when Ex. 20. 18. God spake to us by the Law, the thunder and lightning was so big as we durst not come near the mountain; but since in Heb. 1. 2. these last days He hath spoken to us by His Son, since the lightning was turned into a bright star that told us a Saviour was born to-day, *Cum natus esset Jesus*, then we come from the east, from the world's end to seek Him. And so much

for the first use of this *Ecce*, which sent us two ways backwards by the relation it had with the word 'when.'

But the chief use of it is to make us look forwards, for there we have most to behold. 'Behold, Wise Men came from the East to Jerusalem[l].' *Ecce*, as if he should tell us that it was no ordinary matter, but a thing well worth our marking, more than we commonly take it for. When he comes to his *Ecce* once, it is sure a matter of weight, of some great importance. So the Annunciation came with an *Ecce, Ecce concipies*, and John the Baptist with an *Ecce* too, Lu. 1. 31. *Ecce Agnus Dei*, and the Angel with an *Ecce* too, *Ecce* Joh. 1. 36. *evangelizo vobis*; all matters of much consequence, and there- Lu. 2. 10, fore sure some great thing it is, and no small matter that St. Matthew is about here to tell us; *Ecce Magi*[m]. Indeed no small matter, that the *Magi* of the East, the Gentiles, should come to Christ, and that the star should enlighten them that sit in darkness. For what hath light to do with darkness? saith the Apostle, *aut quæ participatio est justitiæ cum iniqui-* 2 Cor. 6. *tate?* What, should holy things be cast unto dogs? or 14. what should soothsayers do amongst the prophets, and profane diviners with the holy divinity of Christ? Sure this is a strange mystery, worth the attending and listening to, worth the going out to see. *Ecce Magi*, Behold the magicians of the East. It was nothing such a wonder that the Angels came down from heaven to worship Him; they were always used to it before; and though it was a strange thing that the rude, ignorant shepherds should come and acknowledge God come in the flesh, yet much more marvellous was it that such men as these Magi, *sacrilegi et malifeci*, as St. Austin calls them[n], and tutored by the devil, as St. Hierome speaks, *cultores idolorum et divini nominis hostes*, as St. Basil,

[l] See Melch. Canus, Locc. Theolog. xi. v. p. 474. edit. 1605.

[m] The opinions of the Fathers respecting the origin and rank of the Magi and their journey from the East to Jerusalem, have been collected and discussed by Casaubon. Exercit. Baron. ii. n. 10. p. 159. edit. Genev. 1655; Walch. Hist. Eccl. N. T. p. 141; Hyde, de Relig. Vet. Persarum, cap. 31. p. 372; Barradii Harm. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 8; Calovii, Bibl. Illust. N.T. tom. i. p. 154. edit. 1719; Suicer. Thesaur. in v. Μαγος; Maldonat. in Matth. p. 46. edit. Par. 1651; Tillemont, Mem. i. 7. 426—431. edit. 1701. Further authorities are cited by Wolfius in his Curæ Philologicæ, and Koecher in his Analecta.

[n] Passages from the writings of SS. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Haymo, Ambrose, Justin Martyr, Hilary, and others, in which this opinion is expressed, are collected by Barradius, i. 445.

SERM. I. St. Ambrose, and some other of the Fathers make them; for them to come and acknowledge the Son of God, as poorly as He lay, this was beyond an ordinary miracle. Or whether these Magi were such kind of men or no, or but only so called for their admirable wisdom and learning, or their account above other people, as the *philosophi* were among the Grecians, and the *sapientes* and *doctores* among the Latins, which is St. Chrysostom's, and Anselm's, and Bede's opinion, besides many other[o], both of ancient and modern writers, and which is the fairest sense for us to follow, seeing our own Church hath gone before us in it, and translated it so, "Behold, Wise Men," I say if they were but thus, yet Gentiles they were, remote from God's covenant, even as far as the ends of the earth were from Jerusalem, the east from the west; and therefore St. Matthew might well set an *Ecce* upon it, and bid us wonder how they should come thither. *Ecce venerunt magi.*

I will not now trouble myself and you both, as many do, to tell you how many of these Magi there were, three, or more; or to tell you a tale out of Petrus de Palude how, being kings at first, they left that office for St. Thomas to make them all archbishops in their country, and how after two of them were dead, and laid close together in their graves, they started one from another to make room for the third; and how Helen, Constantine's mother, begged their bodies, of the patriarch there, and carried them to Constantinople, and from thence how they came to Millaine[1], in St. Ambrose's days, and then to Colein[2] at last, which makes them now to be called the Three Kings of Colein; and what their names were besides all this. These kind of speculations will do us little stead, which way soever they go. Yet for their number[p] as I would not be too curious to search, so I would not be too boisterous to condemn and think every thing popery that we read not in the text. It hath been a very ancient tradition, (Leo hath it in his Sermons,) and perhaps

[1] Milan
[2] Cologne

[o] Barradius supplies a large collection of such authorities.

[p] Rogas quotnam fuerint magi? Respondemus fuisse tres ex recepta sententia. Tres fuisse sentit Divus Leo, in Sermonibus de Epiphania, Author Sermonum ad Fratres in Eremo, Serm. 43, Anselmus, Innocentius in Serm. de Epiph., Bernardus in Serm. 6. de vigilia Nativ. pastores tres, tres quoque magos numerat. Barrad. Harm. lib. ix. cap. 8.

at the first they had better reason for it than we know of now. And for their dignity, whether they were kings or no, I cannot tell; yet Tertullian[q] says (and Tully[r] likewise before him) they would have no other kings there but Magi, such as these were; and it hath been an old custom of the Church (howsoever our new masters deride it) to apply that saying in the Psalms, 'The kings of Tharsis and of the isles shall bring gifts,' and that in Isaiah, 'The Gentiles shall walk in Thy light, and kings at the brightness of Thy rising[s] up,'—to these Wise Men. Kings! why doth not St. Matthew call them so then? There may be reason for that. It more concerns us and God too, to have Christ acknowledged by the wise, than by any king whatsoever; and perhaps he would teach us by it that the greatest honour we can have is to be wise men (it is a good use for us to make of it, at least):

Ps. 72. 10.

Is. 60. 3.

Regem non faciunt opes;
* * * * *
Rex est qui posuit metus
Et diri mala pectoris[t].

Herod indeed, he might afford him the name of a king well enough, it was the only thing he had to stand upon: but for them that had wisdom to commend them, and came to worship Him that had no kingdom of this world, it was no great matter to tell of their kingdoms. Herod, we know, made so much of his crown that rather than it should off he would murder all the coasts about him; whereas they contemned theirs so much (if they had any) that they took them off themselves and threw them at Christ's feet. So that they might be kings, for all St. Matthew calls them not so; or if not kings, as the tradition and some authority goes, yet all stories will make them the nobles and great ones of their country, men of no small account, as likely to be kings, such as they had in these parts, as any else.

And here now we may set up the *Ecce* again. *Ecce Magi.* Not men of mean condition, the outcasts of the people, or

[q] Nam et magos reges fere habuit Oriens. Tertull. adv. Judæos, cap. ix. p. 192. edit. 1664.

[r] Non potest quisquam rex esse Persarum, qui non ante magorum disciplinam perceperit. Cic. de Divin. lib. 1.

[s] Tertullian, in the passage just quoted, makes a similar application of Ps. 72. 15. See Lorini Comment. in Ps. 71. 11. p. 335. edit. 1619.

[t] L. A. Senecæ Thyestes, Chorus in Act ii. p. 484. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651.

SERM. I. poor pilgrims that had little else to do, but men of authority and rule where they were, men famous besides for their knowledge, whose books to look on were as large as the heavens. *Reguli* at least, if not *reges*, came from the East to Jerusalem, great men, the unlikeliest of any to take so much pains for devotion; more ready, a man would think, as these times go, to take their pleasure at home than to go upon pilgrimage abroad; to attend the world than to go and worship Him that had nothing of it. And yet, great ones as they were, they came for all that, to tell us, first, who should come after, how the only way to be great is to be little, lowly before God the only way to be accounted kings, to be servants, to come and worship God; which we acknowledge every day in our Church service, *Cui servire regnare est*, as the old collect[u] goes, 'Whose service is perfect freedom,' that is a kingdom right. And then to watch besides, that godliness and greatness would do well together, the king's house and God's house joined close to one another, for the more honour of both. The great ones of our age take journeys too, but it is for another purpose, not for religion's sake. Yes, saith Rev. 6. 8. St. John, I saw him riding upon a brave horse, but Death and Hell were his companions. Be we then what we will be, rich, or wise, or great, we had need take care where we go, for fear of such companions by the way. The best way will be to follow those Magi, even in their way to Christ; and then we shall not have darkness and death, but God's Spirit and a star in heaven go along with us.

But before we can go any further in the pilgrimage, there is a stop by the way, and that is one that asks us why these Gentiles come so late? Why not they, learned and quick men, as soon as the ignorant and dull shepherds? We might say that the East was further off a great deal than the next field; but howsoever, sure I am that the Jews were nearer to God than the Gentiles, we were all strangers to the covenant; *et ergo* (says one) *qui remotiores erant a fœdere tardius* Acts 13. 46. *accesserunt*, and the Gospel ought first to come to you, saith St. Paul to the Jews. Therefore came the Magi last. And

[u] Deus, auctor pacis et amator, quem nosse vivere, cui servire regnare est; protege ab omnibus impugnationibus supplices tuos, ut qui in defensione tua fidemus, nullius hostilitatis arma timeamus; per Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum. *Amen.* S. Greg. Lib. Sacr. Missa pro pace.

then (because there are more questions) Christ was not manifested to the learned, but the ignorant Jews; nor to the religious and just men of the time, but to the sinful Gentiles; *nec doctis, nec justis* (saith St. Austin,) *quippe Qui venerat stulta eligere ut confunderet sapientes,* and not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance. Therefore came the Magi, sinful men. And lastly: He was made known to the Jews in the persons of shepherds, and to the Gentiles in the persons of great men, that we might know how the chief pastors and ministers of Christ's Church should come from the Jews, as St. Peter and the rest of the Apostles; but the chief defenders of it, kings and princes, they should come out of the Gentiles, as indeed they did. Therefore came the Magi, great men. Mat. 9. 13.

And now the way is clear, I go on. *Ecce Magi venerunt.* 'Came.' So the persons we have done with all, and now we are at their full pilgrimage. 'Came from the East.' And here we will go apace, for we have a great way yet to Christ, the end of their journey and of my text. I am afraid it will grow late before I shall get half way.

And first therefore, it will not be best to trouble you with knowing what country they came from[v], whether from Persia, as St. Chrysostom and St. Basil; or Arabia, as Justin Martyr and Cyprian; or from Chaldea, as Maximus and Chrysologus; or from the furthest part of Ethiopia, as Hilarius Arelatensis thinks; or with counting how much time they spent in coming so far;—this would stay us too long on our way; and therefore we will haste on without enquiring after them.

'From the East.' Not from the next door, or a town hard by, but *à longe,* even from far, even as the Ethiopian in the Acts (whom some think they sent afterwards) came from the ends of the earth to worship at Jerusalem. A hard journey sure they had, saith St. Chrysostom, for besides the long way there were huge mountains and horrid deserts, great floods and rivers to pass, wild beasts and (what is more) beastly and wild men to pass by. And yet by all these difficulties they came, even from the East to Jerusalem. Acts 8. 27. Opp. vii. 86.

[v] S. Chrysos. i. 498, 499; vii. 86, &c.: S. Basil. ii. 600: S. Just. Mart. 174, 175: S. Cypr. lxxxix: S. Maxim. Taur. ap. Bibl. Pat. v. i. 28: S. Chrysolog. id. v. ii. 774, 775: S. Hilar. 210. edit. Benedict.

SERM. I. Now what a shame was it for the Jews which were round about Him, that the Gentiles from the East should come to seek Christ and they sit secure and idle at home, never enquiring after Him. Or rather what a far worse shame is it for us, which be Christians now, when the heathen that dwelt at the world's end, and had so hard a journey, would come to serve and worship Christ; and we, that dwell even at the next door, will scarce take the pains to do it, nay if
1 Kings 6. 8. our chambers look into God's house, as we read the king's entry was turned into the temple, yet we stir but at our leisure; the least business, if it be but a little more desire of sleep, will hinder us; and if we be seated but a little way off
1 Kings 12. 28. once, why then Jeroboam's counsel is very good, it is too much to go up to Jerusalem. These Wise Men here shall not have our company by the mountains and deserts, we are more tenderly brought up; by them? no! not through a shower of rain (nay if it rains we will not go to church;) our ordinary sleep, or the beams of the sun will keep some of us in, so dainty we are that we cannot endure it truly; and if no body else will go, Christ may comfort Himself with His Mother's arms, for we have neither worship, nor gold, nor frankincense, nothing for Him. A greater offence, sure then,
Mat. 12. 42. Mat. 8. 11. we use to make of it. These men of the East shall rise up in judgment, nay many more shall come from the East, and from the West, and sit with Christ one day, to tell us as much.

But as we go along, there is another yet that meets us, to ask, why from the East? there were Gentiles in the north and south too, why not from them as well, but from the East alone? Marry best of all from hence, it suits well to make
Gen. 3. 24. even with Eve in Paradise, that as from the East came the first news of sin, so from thence should come the first news of saving us from sin; and to make even with Balaam too,
Num. 23. 7. that as he came *a montibus Orientis*, to curse God's people, so these Magi (that some say[x] were his scholars far removed) should come *ab Oriente* too, to bless all the generations of the

[x] Alii vero dicunt illos fuisse nepotes Balaam, quod magis est credendum; Balaam enim inter cætera quæ prophetavit, dixit, Orietur stella ex Jacob. Illi vero habentes hanc prophetiam, mox ut viderunt stellam novam, intellexerunt regem natum, et venerunt. Remig. in *Th. Aquin. Aur. Cat.* Et sic hanc stellam futuram vaticinio Balaam noverant, cujus erant successores. Hieron. *ibid.*

Gentiles after them. And indeed, from whence should they come but from the East? *Omnes qui veniunt ad Christum,* saith Remigius, must come *ab Ipso*[y] from Him first; now He is the true day-spring,—*Oriens nomen Ejus* &c.—as Zecharias speaks. Zech.6.12.

Then this was the beginning of our bliss, the very morning of our happiness; and therefore, as the morning and day begin, so began that, *ab Oriente,* from the East both; and then because the sun follows the day in the East too, it was most fit that such as brought us news of the Sun of Righteousness, the light that lightens every man which cometh into Joh. 1. 9. the world, should come from thence too[z]. And if ye mark it, it was the most glorious Sun that arose here of the two;—the sun in the firmament being but a created body, this, He that made that so, that to lighten the body, and this to illuminate the mind. And now since we have begun to compare Him with the sun, we will make it good every way; for as He rose here in the East among the Gentiles, so He set in the West among the Jews. [And Jerusalem may well be called *occidens,* (says one[a],) the Sun of Righteousness went down there; or *occidens* either, an ye will, for besides that, it killed the Prophets, and stoned them that were sent unto Mat. 23. her: at last it killed the great Prophet—even the Son of 37. God Himself[b].] And by this time we are come to Jerusalem.

'Behold there came Wise Men from the East to Jerusalem;' so their coming was like the sun's too, from east to west, and west was Jerusalem right, for it was full of darkness, they had almost lost their light, it was even a-going out, and *ergo* time for a Sun to rise out of the East, which might give light to them that were sitting in the dark west, the shadow of death.

But to let pass the allegory, (which indeed should never be strained too far,) they came to Jerusalem; but why thither?

[y] Sed tunc quærendum est quare Evangelista dicat eos ab oriente venisse? Quod ideo est, quia ab illa regione venerunt quæ in orientali parte Judæis posita est. Pulchre autem ipsi ab oriente venisse dicuntur; quia omnes qui ad Dominum veniunt, ab Ipso et per Ipsum veniunt. Ipse enim est oriens, secundum illud, Ecce vir, Oriens nomen ejus. Remig. *ibid.*

[z] Merito ab oriente venerunt qui Solem Justitiæ novum nobis ortum annunciant, lætisque rumoribus totum mundum illuminant. Ludolph. de Saxonia, in Vita Christi, cap. xi.

[a] See Barradii Harm. lib. x. cap. xii.

[b] The passage here enclosed within brackets is marked in the original as if for omission.

SERM. I. Christ was at Bethlehem. Oh, but this was the great city, 'the city of the great King,' and most like they should find the King they sought for there. Yet there He was not, and I told you the reason before; then why came they? Marry, for many reasons; there was first the Law and the Prophets, and God will have them looked in, even in the very search of His Son;—to let us know the true way to Him, and to eternal life, (as Christ Himself speaks,) was by the Scriptures. Then there was the chief seat of the land, whither God would have the news of the Messias brought, rather than to any other place, that from thence all the regions round about might take notice of it; for if they had come to Joppa or Jericho only, there might have been some excuses made, that we on this side Jordan had not heard of Him, but from Jerusalem every body must needs take knowledge of it. And then again here were the *Ipses* of the time, the Scribes and Pharisees, and masters of the Law, that would have scorned to have been told of their new-born King by a company of silly shepherds, or to have searched the Prophets for them. And therefore it was fit the princes and great men of the East, since they were now a-coming, should go by the way to Jerusalem to bring these master-Jews the news of their King; for how contemptible soever the shepherds' relation would have been, yet when such men came as the world admired for their wisdom and greatness, and came from far too, from the East, not likely to come in vain, it was like they would receive their testimony. But whatsoever a man would think, yet we see that they believed nothing, not one of them would go to Bethlehem to worship with the Magi; that their coming now to Jerusalem was to condemn and shame the Jews, even the best of them, when these should take such pains, come from the ends of the earth to the King of the Jews, and the Jews themselves take no heed of Him, when these heathen men should, with the light of one star see Christ was come in the flesh, and they, who had a continual light among them, the Law and the Prophets, should be so blind as not to see Him; nay, and when they did see Him there and shewed Him to these men, as we see a little after my text, yet could not go along with them to acknowledge Him. But yet, as ill as they were, God would

Ps. 48. 2.

Joh. 5. 39.

have the Magi to come that way, for to teach us one lesson more, and that is that, *omnia non manifestantur omnibus*, and therefore they must come this way to ask what they knew not, where Christ was born. In the search of holy things we stand in need of great help, and since we cannot know all of ourselves, we must learn one of another, the Jews of the Magi, that there was a King born, and they of the Jews where He should be born. And last of all, to shew that this was the time when the Jew and Gentile should come together, and be no longer parted; but since the King of Peace was come, that they should enter into peace too, teach one another the way to Christ. And therefore this was the right way they took, the way of peace, the way that Christ would have them, Who is The Way Himself; so they came from the East to Jerusalem, the 'city of peace' too, and this was right to guide their feet in the way of peace. Joh. 14. 6.

And now we have followed them thus far, and are come along with them to Jerusalem, fain would we see what they do there, and so go along with them to Bethlehem too. But it is even fallen out as I told you I feared before, it is grown late before we can go any further, and therefore best staying here, for if we should go on, there be so many steps to be taken in the way, that the night would overtake us ere we should get to the text's end. But all the day must not be spent in preaching; and therefore since we are at Jerusalem, the city of peace, crying 'Glory be to God on high, and peace on earth,' let us take the peace of God along with us and so depart for this time.

Now the peace of God which passeth all understanding, keep our hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, That was this day made known unto us, and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be among us, and remain with us always. Amen.

SERMON II.

A FUNERAL SERMON[a].

AT ST. MARTIN'S IN THE FIELDS, ON THE SEVENTEENTH OF JUNE, A.D. MDCXXIII, AT THE FUNERAL OF MRS. DOROTHY HOLMES[b], SISTER TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, THE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

SERM. II.

We are come hither to perform a double duty to this our sister deceased, to commit her body to the ground, the first, and to commend her good name and memory to the world, the second. While she was alive, she had her soul, her body, and her good name; but as for her soul, God has taken it to Himself, but these two He has left behind with us to preserve and lay up for Him while[c] His own coming at the last day. I will speak somewhat of both.

And though her body be now to us as all other dead bodies are, brought hither by us to be decently interred in the earth; yet—because the reason of the Churches' ceremony, as we too well know, perhaps, being made but a matter of course and common custom only—we will tell you now once for all why we do it, not only to her, but to all other that depart, as she hath done, in the faith of Christ.

The Church then would have us consider, that as God hath taught us to put a difference between the soul of a beast and the spirit of a man, (for the soul of a beast goes downward to the earth from whence it came, but the spirit of a man returns

[a] This Sermon, after being considerably altered and abridged, was subsequently used upon an occasion nearly similar. See Appendix, No. 2.

[b] It is probable that the Dorothy Holmes here mentioned was sister to Bishop Neile, and that she was the wife of William Holmes mentioned in his will as his brother. A Walter Holmes wrote a 'Septimana Epigrammatum,' dedicated to the Bishop, of which the unpublished MS. was presented in 1837 to the British Museum by John Holmes, Esq., F.S.A., one of the assistant Librarians of that institution. The Dedication however makes no mention of relationship, although it recites the many favours which had been conferred upon the writer by the Bishop.

[c] While, *i.e.* until, as in Macbeth iii. 1.

> We will keep ourself
> While supper-time alone; while then, God bless you.

to God That gave it, as the Wise Man speaks,) so likewise He hath taught us to put a difference between their bodies too. The bodies of other creatures consume away and perish, and shall never be heard on again, after they are once dead. But our bodies are not so, for though the soul be now gone from it, yet one day it shall return to it and make it stand up from the grave. When we sleep you see we rise again, and this death of the body is but a little longer sleep than ordinary, which is the reason that we read so often in Scripture how the kings of Israel slept with their fathers. Nay, it is but a rest, saith David, a rest from the troubles and cares of this world, and not a bare rest, and no more, but a rest in hope: 'my flesh shall rest in hope,' saith the Prophet, in hope of being raised up again at the last day, to a far better state than ever it was in in this world; which hope other creatures have not.

Eccl. 3. 21.

See 2 Sam. 7. 12. 1 Kings 2. 10. Is. 26. 20. 1 Thes. 4. 13, &c. Ps. 16. 9. cf. Acts 2. 26.

The difference then being so great, since it is not God's pleasure that our bodies should be neglected and cast away, as the bodies of other dead creatures are [d], to become dung for the earth, and to have our bones lay scattered abroad to the sight of the sun: it was the Prophet's complaint, that they gave the dead bodies of His servants to be meat unto the fowls of the air, and the flesh of His saints unto the beasts of the land [e], that their blood ran about like water, and that there was none to bury them. And that being such a kind of barbarous inhumanity, God and the Church have taken order for it, that when His servants are gathered to their fathers, their souls gone up to heaven, there should be care taken to have their bodies laid up with honour, seemly, and decently, in the bed of the earth, while[1] it shall please God to awaken it again.

Ps. 79. 2.

[1] 'until,' as before.

In the earth? nay, that is not enough; for then what need we to make all this solemn procession to the church; we have earth enough every where about our houses, and we

[d] Orig. contra Celsum, lib. viii. edit. Opp. de la Rue, tom. i. p. 764. ψυχὴν λογικὴν τιμᾶν μόνην ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, καὶ τὰ ταύτης ὄργανα μετὰ τιμῆς παραδιδόναι κατὰ τὰ νενομισμένα ταφῇ· ἄξιον γὰρ τὸ τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς οἰκητήριον μὴ παραῤῥιπτεῖν ἀτίμως, καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ὁμοίως τῷ τῶν ἀλόγων· καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε οἱ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ σώματος, ἔνθα λογικὴ ψυχὴ ᾤκησε, πεπιστεύκασι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτόν φασι δεξάμενον καλῶς ἀγονισαμένην διὰ τοιούτου οὐράνου ψυχήν.

[e] Non patiemur figuram et figmentum Dei feris ac volucribus in prædam jacere, sed reddamus id terræ, unde ortum est. Lactant. Instit. vi. 12.

SERM. II. might lay our dead bodies there. But it is not God's will that our bodies should be buried as an ass is buried, in the common fields; but here is a place chosen out and dedicated to that purpose; and therefore Abraham would not bury his dead in the corn fields, nor among the Hethites, but we see he purchased the plain of Mamre to lay the bodies of God's servants up in peace together. And so after his example has the Church ordered amongst us, that are of the seed of Abraham, and accordingly are we met together to commit the dead body of this His servant, our sister departed, to her hallowed grave in peace, and in hope of the glorious resurrection hereafter. That, for the first duty to her.

Jer. 22. 19.

Gen. 25. 10; 49. 31, 32.

See Bingh. xxiii. ii. § 1. seqq.

Now as there is a difference betwixt men and other creatures, for their bodies, so there is a difference betwixt men themselves too, for preserving their good name; which is our second duty to be performed towards her.

There are indeed those that die and perish, and have nothing worth the remembering left behind them, people that are clean forgotten and out of mind as soon as they are gone, as though they never were. But yet there are others which are honourable in their generations, as Ecclesiasticus speaks, and well reported of in their times, which have left a name behind them, that when they are gone their praise may still be spoken of and their names be had in continual remembrance. Among which company we esteem this our sister deceased.

Ecclus. 44. 7.

And to make good what we say, we will a little view her life and death; by both which men are sufficiently tried what they are.

She was born of an honest and religious parentage, which, as it was not obscure then, so it has been since, by the worth of them which were nearest allied unto her, made honourable to the world. But howsoever that had gone, being good, she was great enough, virtue being the best thing to measure greatness by, when all is done.

Her education was suitable to her birth, such as befitted her in all honesty and piety; and though there be many alive that can bear witness to it, yet the best and surest testimony of that are the fruits that she shewed of it in the ensuing course of her time afterwards.

Her discretion and understanding grew as fast as her age; and in her discourse, her apprehensions of any thing propounded, and her answers to it, were many times noted to be more than ordinary; of such a strong and vigorous spirit she was.

Of the innocency of her life, they of her continual acquaintance and [who] knew her behaviour can generally affirm that as she was commendable for many good things, so she was careful to keep herself from all blemish of vice, and used the best means she could to keep always an undefiled conscience.

And as of herself, so she was sedulous and very affectionate in the education of her children, that they might serve God and the commonwealth, some in one course of life, and some in another; and one of them to her great comfort and content she lived to see pass two degrees of schools in the University, howsoever it pleased God to take him away sooner than she expected. There are now, that neither of themselves, nor of their offspring neither, have any regard at all, but let them run riot, they care not which way, and if they will prove good, so it is, let nature work, and so let grace work too, an it will, they will not force them to it, nor it shall not grieve them much whether they do or no. She was of another mind, so careful to have them do well, that it grieved her when she heard of any other did ill.

She had not much, and yet she was so well esteemed as she wanted not, but always laid in that sort as befitted her best; and yet though her stock was not great, nevertheless out of her little which she had, she would not let them want her bounty that had less than she, being noted to be so charitable, as that the sight of any poor creature would make her stand still to give her alms; and besides what love she shewed to many others at home in that kind, those that lived with her, and knew what her actions were, can give an ample testimony.

Her attire was sober and decent, and she took no great care to make much of that body which she knew she must one day part withal, to the grave. Marry, now, for her soul, as we all should be, that she was a little more careful on. I will tell you how: myself can witness that her devotions she daily observed, and when sickness did not hinder her, offered

SERM. II. up her Morning and her Evening Sacrifice according to the order of our Church in the public place of God's service, in His hallowed temple, the most kindly place for that purpose that can be; and when she could not come forth by reason of her infirmities, what her private devotions were, you may guess by that.

Indeed it pleased God to visit her with many crosses and infirmities of this life, but they came not to her soul, they did but touch her body. And no strange thing neither, it is God's wont to do so to them that are dearest to Him; He will not suffer them that are His to feed like flesh-worms upon the pleasures of this life, but keeps them to hard measure here that they may have their fill hereafter. It is St. Gregory's observation, those oxen that are designed to the slaughter-house are suffered to run and range at their will in the pleasant pastures, and are put to no labour at all; but those that are appointed to live, are put into the plough and to the yoke, and are beaten and whipped every day. So the less crosses and infirmities upon us, marry, the worse sign; when we have wealth, and riches, and the world at will, it is a danger but we shall run headlong to perdition, and fat ourselves up for the slaughter only. But when God holds His scourge of tribulation over us, and whips our bodies, it will make us look to our souls the better; we shall still be kept in, and be the more careful of, His service.

But for all these troubles, she was content to bear what God laid upon her, even to her death. And when her infirmity grew so strong upon her as she betook herself to her chamber and her bed, that afterwards she breathed her last in, her conclusion was not different from her premises, nor her death from her life.

Being warned of her danger she shewed no dismay, as carrying in her conscience the safe-conduct of innocency; and being not in love with her own desires, she committed herself to the good-will and pleasure of God. Her preparation to her end was by humble contrition, and hearty Confession of her sins; which when she had done, she received the benefit of Absolution, according to God's ordinance and the religious institution of our Church; a thing that the world looks not after now, as if Confession and Absolution were some strange

superstitious things among us, which yet the Church has taken such care to preserve, and especially to be preparatives for death.

When they had given her physic for her body, it presently put her in mind that there was other physic to be taken for her soul; and so she presently sent unto me, who in my priestly function was ready to attend, to have the blessed Sacrament given her, which she received from me with such gladness of her soul, and with such humility and reverence of her body (though she might hardly endure it by reason of her infirmity) that we might easily understand she knew very well what a great Majesty she was then to adore, and what admirable and mysterious benefits she was to receive. Such was her devotion upon the first falling into her last and fatal sickness.

Now the common guise of the world goes another way; as soon as we feel ourselves sick, presently post away all the servants we have, this way and that way for the physicians of our body to come and help us[f]; but for the physicians of our souls, them we never dream on, as if they would do well enough without any physic at all, which yet (God knows) want it ten times more than our bodies do, and are sicker a great deal than they be.

Well, when she was strengthened with this heavenly and spiritual repast, she set herself to combat with death. And whereas others use to be so much afraid to meddle with it, she was not one whit dismayed; but shewing her willingness to be dissolved and to be with Christ, often in mine own hearing desired that death would come to her to bring her out of these miseries to the joys of heaven. Nor was she so disposed as many are, call for death to make us believe that they are willing to die, and then wish it gone again when it comes; like as Laertius tells us the story of Antisthenes, a philosopher, that led his life well, and was loth to part with it, if he knew how to have kept it, though he seemed to

[f] Si intemperate cibus sumtus aut immoderate potus acceptus levem corpori febriculam concitarit, dejicimus animum, affligimur, suspiramus; nulla cura tunc est seculi, nulla villarum, nemo de patrimonio cogitat, nemo de foro, omnes calumniæ, omnia lucra in periculis corporis conquiescunt. Curritur ad medicos; et pro remedio promittuntur munera, aurum, argentum. S. Hieron. (?) Epist. 8. p. 42. edit. Ant. 1579.

SERM. II. others to be desirous to be rid of it. The man being tied to his bed by a grievous disease, was visited by Diogenes, that knowing the nature of him very well, had taken a sword with him under his gown. As soon as ever he comes in, Antisthenes looks upon him, and cries out for pity, 'O God,' says he, 'who will deliver me from hence!' 'Marry, that will I,' says Diogenes presently, and so shews him the sword in his hand, 'this shall do it.' 'Oh God,' says Antisthenes, 'no, no, I mean from my pains, and not from my life;' he was loth to part with that, whatsoever he said[g]. So Esop tells us of an old man that being laden with a great burden and fallen into a ditch and lying there a long time without hope, at last calls aloud for Death. Well, Death comes to him, and bids him go along with him; 'O no,' says he, 'I call thee to help me up with my burden, that I may return;' he was loth to stand to his word too[h]. But for her, now, her willingness that she had professed at first, she continued to her last day; and when death came, it was welcome to her; she made no reluctation at all. And though she had sore pangs upon her by reason of her long sickness, yet God gave her such patience to endure it as it was almost a marvel to us that saw it. During the time of her sickness, which was a long while together, she offered up with us the continual sacrifice of prayer, to God, both morning and evening and at noon-day, besides her continual ejaculations. She made open profession of her faith, and she died a true member of the Church, and the child of God. She enjoyed her judgment as long as she breathed, and when her tongue could speak no longer, her thoughts offered up her last devotions; and so, while the penitential Psalms were read over her[i], she eftsoons went to God: and as one rather fallen asleep than dying, she most happily took her leave of all mortal miseries. Such was the life, and such was the death of this our sister; both so full of comfort that it may be a sufficient lenitive to the grief of any of her friends that have lost her, and if that be not enough, we will have a text fitted for it that shall.

"Ob. Jun. 14." MS.

[g] Diog. Laert. p. 376. edit. Casaub. 8vo. apud Stephan. 1594.

[h] See the fable Γερων και θανατος, in Æsopi Fab. edit. Hudson, at the end of his edition of Longinus, p. 252, 8vo. Oxon. 1708.

[i] See Cosin's Devotions, 'Prayers at the Hour of Death.'

2 Cor. 5. 1, 2. For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens.

For which we sigh and groan.

If any man has set his heart here upon these things below, and is afraid to part with his life, as not knowing where to get the like again when this is gone, St. Paul comes to instruct him here, and to inform his knowledge a little better: to tell him that he is afraid (as the Psalmist speaks) where no fear is, and that the loss of this life is no such fearful matter as men take it for, no undoing of him, but an infinite advantage to him, bringing him to a life so full of joy and happiness, that this present life, as St. Paul speaks but a little before, is not worth the naming in respect of that. Ps. 53. 5. Rom. 8. 18.

And that this may appear to be true, he has drawn the pictures of them both out here to the life, made us a description of either life, of this which we have now, and of that which we shall have by death, that we might judge ourselves which of the two is most to be desired. But he describes them in such a fashion that men that are not acquainted with his spirit, will wonder what he means. For whereas the world is wont to paint us out the pleasures of this life in such an amiable form, full of bravery and state, and make us pictures of death in such a pitiful shape, with a few naked bones knit together, that it would scare a man to look upon it, ye see he goes quite another way, gives us a picture of this life that has nothing but misery and horror in it, and a description of death that would entice a man's eyes to look upon it, so fair and beautiful it is; the one compared to a poor cottage, which every one passes by without looking on it; and the other to a fair, rich, building, that every body stays to gaze at and admire. [[j]So we read of an old philosopher, Egesias[k], that had such a dexterity this way, as when he painted the portraiture of this life, he did it in such a rueful form as all the people ran away from it when they saw it; and when he

[j] The passage here enclosed within brackets has been so marked by Cosin, as if intended to be omitted.

[k] See Cicer. Quæst. Tusc. 1. 34.

SERM. II. made the picture of death, he did it with such a smiling countenance, as every body that came to look on it fell in love with it, and began to be weary of this miserable life, they would needs desire to live no longer.]

Such another thing it is that St. Paul would work in us here, a contempt of this life in regard to the life to come, and a willingness to welcome death, (look it as it will,) in regard to the great happiness that it brings with it. Will you look upon the text, and there, as I tell you, ye shall see the description, first, of the poor and miserable estate of man in this world, and then the description of that perfect felicity which he shall enjoy after death in the world to come. And these two, which be the general parts of the text, are opposed in four several antitheses.

The first, that this life and this body of ours is earthly, 'our earthly house;' and that, heavenly, 'eternal in the heavens.'

The second, that this is 'a tabernacle,' a slight, flitting house; and that, 'a building,' a strong lasting house, 'we have a building.'

The third, that this is a tabernacle of our own: and that, 'a building of God;' so much the better.

And the fourth, that this is a house which will fall, and must be 'dissolved;' and that, a house which will stand for ever, and is 'eternal in the heavens.'

And all this, not out of any opinion, or guessing at it, but upon certain knowledge and assurance; 'we know' it, saith St. Paul, which produces the effect of all, a longing and a desiring after it, 'for which we sigh and groan.' And these be the parts of the text. Of these, &c.

THE PRAYER.

I begin, as the text begins, with the certain knowledge and assurance of all this felicity after death. 'We know.' It is the confidence that we Christians have, and sure we have no small privilege by it above other men: for all the natural discourse of the world will not reach to this 'know,' but it is the Spirit of God that infuses it into us. The philosophers had a guessing at the immortality of the soul, but they knew

not well whether they should say so or no; now there is no guessing at the matter, nor no opinion about it, as they had, God knows how many, but a certain, infallible assurance. We 'know' it is so.

[Know[1] it? Certainly by the order of nature there must be a little doubting about it. For what, and if the devil should come with his sophistry now to shake this foundation of our faith? and are we so sure of life again after death? or that our body, which lies mouldered in the grave for worms to make their beds in, shall be raised up to glory? 'Who Job 14. 4. is he,' saith Job, 'that can bring a clean thing out of filthiness? there is not one.' It is an easy thing to bring a man to his end, to put him into his grave, but to fetch him out again and make him live, what hope have ye of that? It is true, indeed, there is some hope of a tree, if that be cut Job 14. 7-down, yet it will sprout again, and though the root waxes dry 9. and the stock be dead, yet a little water will fetch it again, and make it grow as well as ever it did. But with us that are men, now there is no such matter. 'Did you ever see an old man grow young again, with all the pains that might be taken about him? Why, no more shall ye see a dead man made alive again,' says the devil. And so he would persuade us that there were no life after this; at least, that there were no such knowledge and assurance of it as the Apostle speaks of here, but that it might be called in question, for all we know it so well. Nay, he comes to us like a ghostly father, with a Bible in his hand, and would fain make us believe what we must trust to, for it is written, and it is written in Job (it is a shrewd place, I would wish you to look to it, that you might know how to answer him another time) 14. 12[m]. 'For man sleepeth and riseth not, he shall not wake again, nor be raised from his sleep till the heaven be no more.' Marry now, if God would send a fiery chariot for us before we die, as He did for Elias, or carry us from the world 2 Kings 2. upon Angels' wings, as old Enoch was carried, then indeed 11. Gen. 5. 24. there were some hope of living in this same place of glory that we speak on; but to die first, and be thrown into the earth, and there become earth ourselves, and if a man looks

[1] The passage in brackets is marked in the original for omission.

[m] See Pineda in Job, p. 406. edit. Paris. 1631.

SERM. II. after twenty years not to know what is become of us, there is no likelihood of it this way, we perish and die, and where
Job 14. 10. are we? says Job. Look ye what ways the devil has to take this same assurance and knowledge of our happiness after death from us, to make us stagger at it and doubt, that so we might look the less after it. We might answer him now, as Christ did, with another place of Scripture, and tell him it is written otherwise in twenty places. But we say that Job spake as a natural man there that was overgone with sorrow [n]; and therefore he might have leave to express himself with a little passion more than ordinary. But do you
Job 19. 25. know what he said afterwards? 'I know,' says he, 'that my Redeemer liveth;' there he was of another mind, he knew it just as St. Paul says here.]

We 'know' it, indeed our reason can hardly otherwise judge of a man, but that he is utterly undone when he dies, and cannot see how it is possible for a dead man to rise
Joh. 3. 4. again, no more than Nicodemus could, how a live man should be born again. And therefore when St. Paul came among the philosophers at Athens, and talked to them of the resur-
Acts 17. 18, 32. rection, and of the life to come, they held him for a madman; all their learning was against it, and they could by no means perceive how it should be. But we, which have
Col. 2. 8. learned Christ, must not be deceived through vain philosophy; for we have a most undoubted assurance of it from the Spirit of God. Christ can tell Nicodemus how a man shall be born again; and St. Paul can tell us here how, after death, we shall be sure to live again eternally in the heavens.

This then, before we can go any further, must be the first thing, for us to be assured that there is glory for us after death; for if we have not this assurance and knowledge first, it will be vain to go on and talk of any thing else. Nay, if we be ignorant of this, it will go hard with us, whensoever our turn shall come; for death will come upon us like a
Heb. 6. 19. mighty storm at sea, and if we want the anchor of hope, this knowledge here, to hold us fast, then woe worth our case! we shall be tossed, we know not whither, so that when we are gone and put in our graves, they may write upon us as

[n] Loquitur Job juxta naturam. Resurrectio autem non est naturæ, sed Dei opus per Christum. Poli Synop. in locum.

that perplexed knight of Arragon appointed to be written upon his tomb, in great letters, 'I die,' says he, 'against my will, and I know not whither I go;' or, as Titus [o] the Emperor, 'Alas,' said he, 'I must die, and I know not why. We shall be a hundred ways perplexed, and if we know not this, we shall not know what to do with ourselves for very distraction. But now if we can get this full assurance, that St. Paul here had, and come to know beforehand what advantage death is to us, we shall be so far from being afraid of it, or perplexed when it comes, that we shall throw ourselves into the arms of it, and, like the tired labourer, be glad when we can come out of the field and repose ourselves in the bed of rest.

(1.) Now I come to the two descriptions. The first is of our bodies as they are here: the next is of them as they are hereafter. Ye shall see what poor things they are here, and what glorious bodies they shall be there, and all in very few words, for I will not, I cannot, stand to enlarge much upon either.

'If our earthly house.' A house, first, where we have somewhat to set up withal yet, indeed our body is the house of the soul [p], where it lodges. But if you look what ill entertainment it has in it, you will say it has but an ill lodging of it. For as long as our souls are there, they are lodged with a witness, lodged no better than as prisoners are lodged, shut and pent up so that they cannot have their own liberty. Ye see it defiles the soul as soon as ever it gets into it, corrupts and almost kills it, as soon as ever it is sent to harbour there, with original sin: and then when it is washed and all made clean again by baptism, yet ere long the house gets soiled and infects the soul, as long as ever it dwells there. And therefore the ancients were wont to call it the grave, and the sepulchre, and the prison-house of the soul, the house of bondage [q]. This is the house that St. Paul speaks on here. An ill beginning, you see.

[o] The editor has been unable to trace the incident here mentioned to any authority.

[p] Σωμα οἰκια ψυχῆς, Chrysost. Hom. 69. in S. Matth. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. vii. p. 186. fol. Par. 1544, cited by Suicer, Thesaur. ii. 1210.

[q] Passages in which the body is styled the grave, and the prison-house of the soul, are collected by Suicer, Thes. ii. 1212.

SERM. II.

(2.) Yet were it some goodly house, some stately, compacted building, that were reared up with costly stones about it, it might somewhat help the matter; but this house is built up of nothing but earth and mud, the most base materials that go to any building. Our 'earthly' house. That is the second point in the text. And if it be no better, it is a goodly thing, sure, that we should make so much of it as we do, whereby it seems we would fain seem to the world to be of a little better mould than God made us on; but when we have done what we can with all the bravery and cost that we can bestow upon ourselves, yet earth we are, and earth we must be again, whether we will or no. We set a fair outside on it, saith St. Bernard[r], but if we look to see what is within us, we shall find that we are but so many sacks of excrements, fit meat for the worms of the earth to diet on; like as Clemens Alexandrinus[s] tells us of the Egyptian temples, fair and sumptuous without, and set forth with all kind of majesty and curious ornaments, but within nothing but some ugly serpents, cats, and crocodiles, to behold. And so pull but this same skin off here, that makes us look so fair to the eye, and for the rest, the best of us are nothing else but a lump of clay, somewhat handsomely framed and prettily set together, and that is all. We make much ado with ourselves, as if we were some delicate creatures; and this earth that we carry about with us must be gilded over, as if there were no such matter. But when all is done, we shall find St. Paul's words here true, that earth and mud we are; and bring us the most comely feature you can find among a million, it is but a house of clay, and such like matter, make the best of it. [Which that young German[t] understood very well, that would never suffer his

[r] Nihil aliud est homo quam sperma fœtidum, saccus stercorum, cibus vermium.
Post hominem vermis, post vermem fœtor et horror;
Sic in non hominem vertitur omnis homo.
S. Bernardi Meditationes, cap. 3. edit. Colon. 1637.

[s] See Pædagog. l. iii. c. ii. edit. Potter. i. 252. fol. Oxon. 1715.

[t] Misenæ in Templo Afrano monumentum cujusdam nobilis adolescentis ex Schleiniziorum familia (nisi fallor) oriundi etiamnum hodie videre licet. Perhibebatur adolescens ille omnium suæ ætatis fuisse pulcherrimus, sed cum in ipso ætatis flore in morbum lethalem incidisset, a propinquis suis exorari non potuit ut suam effigiem vel pictam vel sculptam posteritati relinqueret; tantum hoc precibus illorum concessit, ut postquam terræ mandatus esset, paucos post dies sepulchrum aperirent, et qua forma cadaver suum invenirent, eadem depingi curarent. Hoc cum esset factum, invenerunt fa-

picture to be drawn in his life-time, but bade his friends, that were so importunate to have it, take him out of his grave when he was dead, and then draw him as they found him; which some, for the love they bare him, would needs do too. But they found him in such a case as they had no heart to take his picture then, but laid him down again, as fast as they could, and found it true which Ecclesiasticus saith, That when man dieth he becomes a corrupted earth, and the inheritance of serpents. So you see there is no great pleasure to be taken in these houses of clay; they are but poor mean things, God wot! that the world should so trim them up, and set up their rest on them, as they do[u]]. And this is the second step to our preferment here; ye see we are fairly holpen up with it; our bodies are but earthly houses.

(3.) Now an earthly house would do somewhat yet, and we might perhaps make a shift withal, if it were well and strongly built, if it were a steady house, though it had not so much beauty in it, yet we would go near to make it serve the turn. But this is a house that has no firmness, no foundation, nor no stability in it at all; it is but 'a tabernacle,' saith the text, 'our earthly house of this tabernacle;' that is the third thing. Now we are worse than we were before, for there was some hope in an earthly house, that it might have stood still, and remained a sufficient time for us in one place. But a tabernacle is a flitting thing, set up in an hour to-day, and taken down again in less time to-morrow, if it will last so long, for perhaps a blast of wind may come and puff it down to-day, and so all is spoilt. See then, what this life of ours is; it is here compared to a travelling tent, travellers we are only and pilgrims upon the earth, carrying about our bodies but like tents and tabernacles, to set down and take up again after a night over; and there an end with them. Wherefore a wonder it is to see what the world means, to bestow such a deal of care and cost upon a thing that flits away from us every day, and perhaps must be taken

ciem ejus semiconsumtam a vermibus, et plures serpentes circa diaphragma et spinam dorsi exstantes. Jusserunt igitur ejus effigiem, sicut invenerant, lapidi incidi, quod monumentum adhuc in sacello gentilitio illius templi inter armatas majorum et gentilium statuas conspicitur. Joh. Gerhardi Locc. Theolog. xvii. 82. edit. Cottæ, 4to. Tubing. 1777.

[u] Marked for omission.

SERM. II. down to-morrow. Does any man do so with his tabernacle? he does not keep such a dressing up of that, but makes account to take it up again ere long, and get him gone. Then if we set [it] up for many years, and think our bodies like our barns, and this tabernacle like the tower of Babel, that shall never fail, perhaps this night they may be taken from us, and He that dwells in heaven will but laugh us to scorn at the last.

(4.) Perhaps they may be taken down? nay, be sure it shall, says the text, there is no hope on't, but it must be dissolved; 'When this earthly tabernacle is dissolved,' that is the fourth thing. We shall not have it stand up for ever; but build it as carefully as we can, there must come a dissolution of it; and fence it about with all the strength that our wealth can afford, or all the devices that our wits can imagine, yet all will not do; it must, and will, at the last fall asunder of itself. For I pray tell me, where are all they now that promised to themselves such eternity, how their houses should never fail, they that led the world in a string, and at whose beck both men and beasts did bow, that subdued kingdom upon kingdom, that called their lands after their own names, and thought that their dwelling-places should endure from one generation to another, as David speaks. 'For we see,' says he, 'that wise men also die and perish together, as well as the ignorant and foolish, and leave their riches for others.' Indeed, we use to flatter the great men of the world with the titles of Invincible Potentates, and presently after comes an ague and shakes them all to pieces. They wrote the Emperors, *Semper Augusti*, men that should live for ever; and within an hour after some of them were laid flat along in their graves. This is that we call eternal and everliving honour. Alas! how soon it dies, how soon dissolved, and we are gone.

Ps. 49. 11.

Ps. 49. 10.

(5.) Again: 'when it shall be dissolved,' saith St. Paul; he does not tell us when, (for that is uncertain,) that we might be at all times prepared; perhaps it may be to-day, before to-morrow, in the first or second watch, we know not when; and when we rise in the morning, we can hardly make the proverb good that we are up for all day. For God knows, we may be down again, six feet in the earth before

the sun be seven hours high in heaven. But whensoever it is, though we know not when it will be, yet be sure it will be one time or other. The general tide wafts all to the shore, some sooner, some later, but all at last[v]. This tabernacle must be dissolved.

(6.) And yet this for our comfort; it shall but be 'dissolved,' says the text, and no more: it shall not be utterly destroyed and brought to nothing. All the power that death has of us is but to take our tabernacle to pieces, to dissolve the body only, and loosen one part from another; but to destroy it quite, that is beyond her power. It takes it asunder indeed, and that is no great matter, for we shall get by the bargain; death does but unmake us that God may come and make us up better again; Who, when He shall gather together what death has dissolved, of a corruptible body will frame us a glorious body, and of a flitting tabernacle will set us up a royal building, eternal in the heavens. And thus by this dissolution here there is more pleasure done us than we think of. For among ourselves, when we see our houses are weak, and brittle, and every day ready to fall about our ears, we use to pull them down, that we may take the materials and build them up fairer and stronger again. This does God do for us; our bodies being such weak and unstable tabernacles as they are, He does but suffer death to dissolve and pull them down, that He may take the building of them up again into His own hands; and of poor earthly houses, build us heavenly mansions, and make us glorious bodies that shall continue for evermore.

II. And so I come to the second part of the text, the description of the life to come, which being a picture too glorious for our weak eyes to behold, and seeing we can perceive nothing of it but as through a glass and very darkly, as the Apostle speaks, we shall give you but a glimpse of it, and pass it over the faster. 1 Cor. 13. 12.

(1.) When this tabernacle is dissolved, we shall have a

[v] Homo moriturus non magis aut conqueri debet, si ad mortem pervenit, quam navigans si ad portum ad quem navigabat, celerius quam credit pertingit. Est enim mors portus ad quem continue navigamus; et ideo si ventus et casus fortuitus subito et ex insperato ad illum portum perducit, dolere non debet homo, sed potius cum patientia tolerare. Idiot. de Contempl. mortis, l. v. c. 8. ap. Bibl. Patr. Latin. tom. x. p. 22.

SERM. II. building. So then death is but the passage and the door that let us out from a poor silly cottage, ready to tumble upon our heads, to a fair, spacious palace, whereof we shall fear no dissolution. And if ye would know what manner of building it is, that you may see the difference betwixt it and ours, St. John will tell you. A building it is, says he, that hath the walls of jasper, and the whole structure within of pure gold, that looks as clear as crystal, (if ye be in love with such things, there they are for you,) and whose foundations are garnished with all manner of precious stones, and whose gates are of the purest pearl; and all those shining with the glory of God about them. We should put out our eyes to look any further, and therefore we will content ourselves with this. But look you what a change here is; our own a poor despised tabernacle, a tent that is but holden up with a few sticks, not built at all; and this, a glorious compacted structure, as will amaze every one to behold the majesty of it.

Rev. 21. 18.

(2.) This is but the beginning of our happiness, we shall have that, and we shall have God with it too, 'a building of God.' It is that which He has prepared for Himself of old, and that will double our happiness, when we shall not be left alone there, but admitted even into His own glorious presence, where are pleasures for evermore, as David speaks.

Ps. 16. 11.

(3.) And 'a building not made with hands.' For what one hand makes, another may pull down again, and therefore our tabernacles, a few hands can set them up in an hour, and one hand can pull them down again in a moment. But that we may know that all the strength of the world, put all their hands together, as we use to say, shall never dissolve this building, therefore the text tells us it is made without hands, made even by the power of God, Who will strengthen it for ever. 'I saw,' says the king of Babel, in Daniel, 'a stone cut out of a rock, without hands;' that was the figure of Christ's Body, which was made without the help of man, by the power of God Himself, as our glorious bodies shall be made hereafter, when they shall be like unto His.

Dan. 2. 34.

(4.) And therefore, fourthly, it followeth that it shall be an eternal building, not like an unstable tent, a house here that had no abiding, for this body passeth away, saith the

Apostle; but to make amends for all labour here, this second building shall be a resting-place for ever, a house that shall never be flitting away, but one that will last unto all eternity; nor wind nor weather shall hurt it, it will be subject to no change, for eternity is ever one and the same; and therefore when we have got this building once, let hell and death roar never so fast, we shall not need to fear a dissolution any more. 1 Cor.7.21. 1 Joh.2.17.

(5.) And eternal 'in the heavens;' that is the last circumstance, which is the last of all, and makes up our fill of felicity. When we are to rear up a building, specially if it be a fair one, we use to stand as much upon the situation of it as upon the building itself. Now, if ye would choose a place to set it in, sure heaven is the best place that can be wished for. The earth, that wearies and dulls us, and no seat there to be found but has some annoyance or other. But in heaven we shall desire nothing which we shall not have, even God Himself for our prospect, Whose face we shall behold for ever, and the armies of regal Angels for our neighbours about us, the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, and the glorious company of the Apostles continually with harps and viols in their hands to sing songs of joy and melody with us to Him That sits upon the throne for evermore. Who would not desire to dwell in such a place, where we shall live like kings and like the Angels of heaven.

And therefore we sigh and groan for it, saith St. Paul, which is the last thing of all, *Propter hoc ingemiscimus.* As David in the Psalms, 'My soul is athirst for the living God, O when shall I appear before the presence of God.' And as the Apostle in another place, 'I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ.' And you see what manner a desire it is; he sighs and groans for it, and will be glad he can have it so too. The kingdom of heaven comes not with such cold wishes as we use commonly to send out for it, say but one, *Miserere mei,* or 'Christ have mercy upon me,' when we are a-dying, and then think an Angel will come down and carry us fair and softly upon his wings to eternal tabernacles. No, says our Saviour, you must not look for it. The kingdom of heaven is got by violence; it will cost us many a deep groan and sob before we can get to it, for it is a very narrow and Ps. 42. 2. Phil. 1.23. Mat. 11. 12. Mat.7.14.

SERM. II.

straight way thither, and we must thrust and labour hard ere we shall get through it. What, do we think the kingdom of
Lu. 17. 20. God comes by observation and by sitting still? no; if ye would get into a place that is kept so close, you must do as men use to do at such a time; strive and press forward till you groan again, till a man's body be all of a sweat for it, and then ye may get in; and when we are in we shall never sigh nor groan after; though we sigh now, we shall laugh then our fill. This is then that which St. Paul would commend unto us, that while we live here in this miserable
'a yearning' world, our souls would have an earning and a longing after the joys of the next; and if we think what and how unspeakable they are, we cannot choose but do it.

Now, whatsoever we do, let us be sure we turn not our sighs the wrong way, and instead of sighing after heaven, set ourselves a-sighing after this life, [as if any joy were to be found here, for alas! you see here is nothing but misery and vanity, and therefore if we sigh for any thing here, it should be to be rid of that; but for any thing that should content us, alas! here is nothing. If we go about to seek for content here, we shall have an Angel come to tell us, as he told
Lu. 24. 5. Mary, that sought Christ in a grave when He was risen, 'Why seek you the living among the dead?' And why sigh we after pleasure in a place of misery, or for rest in a place
Jer. 6. 14. of trouble? Indeed, we cry 'peace, peace,' here like false prophets, when there is no such matter as peace in this world. Where is it then? Why, the true peace is that which our death and dissolution brings us, to translate our vile bodies from earth into glorious mansions in heaven. And therefore lest we should doubt of it, St. John was commanded to write
Rev. 14. 13. it for a certainty, 'Write from henceforth, that blessed are the dead, for they rest from their labours;' mark it, they rest from henceforth, that is, from their death. They did not rest before then, for there are nothing but cares, and troubles, and sorrows here, when all is done.

And therefore to make an end of all, since there is no true rest, nor joy, to be had here, let us sigh and seek after it where it is; where this blessed sister of ours hath sought and sighed after it, and now found it, even in the kingdom of heaven. And when we are come thither after her, I shall

tell you one thing, we shall repent us nothing, but that we came there no sooner; and when we shall compare this flitting tabernacle of ours to that eternal building there, we shall cry out with St. Peter, 'It is good for us to be here.' And Mat. 17. 4. we shall be as loath to look back upon the earth, as Lot was to look back upon Sodom, or Moses to the land of Egypt; while we shall consider ourselves to be delivered from the house of bondage, and brought into a land where at God's right hand are pleasures for evermore.]

To these everlasting joys and pleasures, in houses not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens, for which we daily sigh and groan, God for His mercy vouchsafe to bring us; that we with this our sister and all others departed in the faith of Christ, may have our perfect consummation there in soul and body. And He bring it to pass for us, That, by His death, hath purchased life for us, Christ Jesus, the righteous. To Whom, &c.[x]

[x] Instead of this passage enclosed within brackets, the following one is substituted .... 'all the world is not worth a sigh, nor does the loss of any thing here deserve a groan. Groans and sighs are to be kept for heaven, where true joys are only to be found. And so I have done with the text.'

SERMON III.

PREACHED AT DATCHET NEAR WINDSOR, ON THE SECOND SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY, A.D. MDCXXIV; AT THE MARRIAGE OF MR. ABRAHAM DE LAUNE AND MRS. MARY WHEELER[a].

St. John ii. 1, 2.

And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee; and the Mother of Jesus was there:
And Jesus was also called, and His disciples, unto the marriage.

SERM. III.

It is a marriage day with us, and it is a marriage day with the text; a marriage appointed you, whom it concerns, I doubt not by the care and providence of God; a text appointed me by the care and order of the Church, for you see how it falls out to be that portion of Scripture here which the Church hath allotted to be universally read for the Gospel of this very day[b]. The Gospel of the Sunday is, or should be, the theme of all our sermons through the revolution of the whole year. And this day is, or may be thought at least, the fittest of all other days of the year to celebrate a marriage on, it being the very day wherein Christ celebrated one Himself, with His own presence at it.

The choice of this day then, for your purpose, hath saved me the choice of a text for mine, for it hath given me one here ready to my hand, while the Church's intention met both so happily together. And it being Solomon's rule that men should speak their words as near as might be in season, and while it is called to-day, as St. Paul speaks; sure if ever

Prov. 15. 23.

Heb. 3. 13.

[a] In 1631 the manor of Datchet, described as having formerly been parcel of the possessions of the castle and honour of Windsor; and the manor of Datchet St. Helen's, which had belonged to the Priory of St. Helen's, and had been afterwards annexed to the honour of Windsor, were granted by Charles I. to Sir Charles Harbord and others, by whom they were conveyed to Sir W. Wheeler, in whose family the estate continued till 1681. In the parish church are many monuments of the family of Wheeler. See Lyson's Magna Britannia, Buckinghamshire, p. 548. It appears from a pedigree of the Wheeler family contained in the Visitation of Bucks in A.D. 1639. (Harl. MS. 1102, fol. 54.) that this Mary was the fifth daughter of Sir Edmond Wheeler of Rideing Court, county of Bucks, knight, by Elizabeth daughter and heiress of Richard Hanberry of London, and that Abraham Delane, to whom she was married, was of the highly respectable family of Delane of Sharstede, in the county of Kent.

[b] St. John ii. 1—11. is the passage of Scripture appointed for the Gospel of the day.

we shall keep his rule, as we shall keep it to-day, and speak of *opus diei in die suo*, bring the day and the work of the day together; for he that runs may read some happy correspondence between the work of this day, and the words of this text; that at least for the text's sake, (however the sermon proves,) for the text's sake, and for the Gospel's sake you may say, as they seem, *sicut audivimus, sic etiam vidimus*, as we have heard so have we seen, and as we have seen so have we heard here in the house of our God. Ps. 48. 8.

The text then being thus fixed to the present occasion, before we proceed to that business, it would be suited in the words to the present time too, according to the revolution of the year; for whether we had had a marriage here to-day or no, we should have had the same Service, the same Sunday, the same Gospel, and, if a sermon, the same text. Howsoever, the second Sunday after the Epiphany would have come and gone for all that; and this Gospel must have been read upon it: and we must have a care to observe the order and solemnity of the Church Service and the Church Sunday, as well as of any marriage day whatsoever.

You are to know, then, that this is Epiphany time. You see they are called the Sundays of the Epiphany; and Epiphany time is the time of Manifestation, the time when Christ was pleased to manifest Himself, and make His glory known to the world. According to which, the Church hath suited her office, and fitted us with a course of service, that might help to bring into our minds in order, the things themselves, as they were done here by Christ our Saviour while He was upon the earth.

Thus there were three great and prime manifestations that He made of Himself. The Church begins with them at Twelfth Day. The first, that He made to the Gentiles; and accordingly propounds to you the Gospel of the star that appeared in the East, with the Collect, 'O God, Which didst manifest Thy only begotten Son to the Gentiles[c].' The next was the first manifestation we read of which He made of Himself to the Jews, while He sate with them in the Temple, and shewed them what He was, even at twelve years of age; Mat. 2. 1, seqq.

[c] **O God, Who by the leading of a star, didst manifest Thy only begotten Son to the Gentiles, mercifully grant,** &c. Collect for the Epiphany.

SERM. III.

and accordingly did the Church propound that story for the Gospel the last Sunday, which was the first after the Epiphany. The third was the first manifestation that He made of Himself to His disciples, who had been called but a little before, and were now invited with Him to the marriage at Cana. Answerable whereunto is the Gospel propounded unto us by the Church this third day, 'and the third day there was a marriage in Cana,' so it begins; and at it, Jesus 'manifested forth His glory, and His disciples believed on Him,' so it ends. There were other miracles whereby Christ manifested Himself too, and they have their times hereafter; but these were the first, in every kind, as St. John says, 'This was the beginning of miracles that He did;' and therefore hath the Church appointed the three first days after His Nativity, for the solemn memory and anniversary celebration of them.

Lu. 2. 41, seqq.

Joh. 2. 11.

These things, if they were better heeded by us, and known to us, than they are, I suppose we should affect the office and love the service of the Church better than we do: while the ignorance of them makes us esteem of God's solemn service, so divinely disposed as it is, no otherwise than as if it were a bare reading of so many lines, to spend away time, as in some places it is accounted; or an introduction to usher in a sermon, and wait upon it like a handmaid upon her mistress, as in others; while God knows it is the greatest happiness that we, His poor servants, can attain to here on earth, orderly, and duly, and solemnly, to serve Him as the Angels do in heaven, that is, day by day to magnify Him, to do Him honour and public homage, to send up prayers, as Angels[d] from earth, and to receive down blessings, as Angels from heaven[e],

[d] Ἀγγέλοις ἔργον δοξολογεῖν Θεόν, πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῶν ἐπουρανιῶν ἐν τοῦτο ἔργον, δόξαν ἀναπέμπειν τῷ Κτίσαντι. Basil. in Ps. xxviii. Opp. 1. 179. fol. Paris. 1618.

[e] Ipsi nos Angeli sancti desiderant; nonne de vermiculis istis et de pulvere isto restaurandi sunt muri cœlestis Hierusalem? putatis quantum desiderant cives cœlestes instaurari civitatis suæ ruinas? quomodo solliciti sunt ut veniant lapides vivi, qui coædificentur eis? quomodo discurrunt medii inter nos et Deum, fidelissime portantes ad Eum gemitus nostros, et Ipsius gratiam nobis devotissime reportantes? S. Bernardi Serm. 2. in Vig. Nat. Domini, Opp. 1. 746. edit. Mabill. fol. Par. 1719. Hi sunt cives beatæ civitatis supernæ Hierusalem, quæ sursum est mater nostra, . . . ut . . . confortent quoque, et moneant, et orationes filiorum Tuorum deferant, et offerant in conspectu gloriæ majestatis Tuæ . . . et solliciti discurrentes inter nos et Te, Domine, gemitus nostros et suspiria referentes ad Te, ut impetrent nobis facilem Tuæ benignitatis propitiationem, et referant ad nos desideratam Tuæ gratiæ benedictionem. S. Augustini (?) Soliloq. Opp. vi. 577. edit. Antv. 1700.

to commemorate His mercies, and to hear with our ears, what our fathers (that is, the priests and ministers of God) shall tell us, the noble acts that He did, in the old time before us. Ps. 44. 1. Among which, this that the Church hath propounded to-day for the Gospel, and which I have propounded to-day for my text, is a chief one; the first noble act, the beginning of miracles, as St. John says a little forward, that Christ did Joh. 2. 11. after His baptism.

And now the text is suited to the time, both for the occasion which we have to celebrate, and for the day which the Church is to celebrate.

It divideth itself into these parts:

The solemnizing of a marriage, 'And there was a marriage,' the first.

The place where it was, 'at Cana,' the second.

The time when it was, 'upon the third day,' and the third point too.

The guests that were at it, Mary the Mother of Jesus, Jesus Himself, and Jesus's disciples, the fourth point.

And lastly, how they came there. They were invited to it, 'And Jesus was also called, and His disciples, to the marriage.'

The end of all will be that we make the same use of it which they did, and then we shall be sure to have the same benefit which they had, even the presence of Christ and blessing of Almighty God among us.

Of these then, or of as many of these as the time will suffer us that we may speak, to the honour of God's most Holy Name, &c. &c. &c.

I shall desire &c.

'And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee.'

'There was a marriage.' That is the first.

Whose marriage this was, that we cannot tell. They did but[f] shoot at rovers, those old friars, that out of an old apocryphal gospel were wont to tell us the story[g] how that St. John

[f] 'To shoot at rovers,' without any particular aim, see Johnson's Dict.

[g] The following extract from the 'Vita Jesu Christi' by Ludolphus de Saxonia, gives us the arguments by which this opinion was supported.

SERM. III.

the Evangelist was the man, and the Virgin Mary's niece was the woman, that were to be married here in Cana, but that when the feast was done, Christ called away the bridegroom, and made a disciple of him; and St. Jerome must be brought in to make up the case, when, as God knows, there is no such meaning in the Father[h]; and it seems they forgot that St. John was called long before this time, and was one of the first disciples that was called, as he says himself here, His disciples were called with Jesus to the marriage. What could become of them? curious wits forsooth must be searching, and lose their wits for their labour. What have we to do with that which God and His Gospel have not been pleased to tell us? It is enough, be the marriage whose soever it was, we are told that marriage is an honourable estate of life in all men, a state ordained by God Himself in paradise, a state without which there can be no society in this world durable; and albeit single life be a thing more angelical and divine[1], yet because the replenishing of the earth first with

Heb. 13. 4.

Gen. 2. 24.

Quamvis autem dubium sit cujus nuptiæ fuerunt, tamen nos meditemur eas fuisse Johannis Evangelistæ, sicut in prologo super Johannem Hieronymus videtur affirmare, quem volentem nubere Christus de nuptiis vocavit; et extunc Johannes Christo propter munditiem continentiæ virginalis magis familiaris fuit. Hoc etiam videtur ex eo quod Christus non legitur fuisse in nuptiis aliis, et per hoc 'Mater Jesu erat ibi' tanquam in nuptiis sui nepotis. Non enim est verisimile quod ipsa venisset, nisi nullum sibi attenuisset (?) sicut ivit ad Elizabeth cognatam suam, nec legitur in tali casu ivisse ad aliam. In ipsis ergo nuptiis domina nostra fuit non tanquam extranea invitata, sed tanquam primogenita et dignior inter sorores fuit in domo sororis quasi in domo sua. Cum enim soror ejus Maria Salome uxor Zebedæi vellet facere nuptias filio suo Johanni, vadens ad dominam nostram in Nazareth, quarto a Chana miliario, intimavit hoc ei, et sic ipsa ante oculos venit ad præparationem nuptiarum. Unde legitur quod 'Mater Jesu erat ibi,' sed de Jesu et discipulis dicitur quod fuerunt vocati; qui tamen discipuli adhuc firmiter non adhærebant, sed sequebantur gratia familiaritatis, imbui cupientes Ejus doctrina. Pars i. cap. xxv. The reader who is anxious to pursue the investigation of this subject will find numerous authorities, in which it is discussed, pointed out by Wolfius, Curæ Phil. in S. Johan. cap. ii. v. 1.

[h] It is admitted by Baronius, A.D. xxxi. § 31, that no such passage is to be found in the writings of Jerome. It occurs in two ancient prologues prefixed to the Gospel according to St. John, of which the former is ascribed to St. Jerome, the other to St. Augustine. Both may be found in the Glossa Ordinaria; (edit. fol. Antw. 1617, tom. v. 1001. 1003;) the former is also extant in the Complutensian Polyglott, and in the works of the Venerable Beda, (edit. Basil. 1563. iii. 515.) It is there stated that 'Johannem de nuptiis volentem nubere vocavit Dominus.' In the second these words occur. 'Iste est Johannes, quem Dominus de fructivaga nuptiarum tempestate vocavit.' Thomas Aquinas (2a 2æ q. 186. a 4), Bonaventura, Lyra (who says 'Dicitur etiam communiter quod istæ nuptiæ fuerunt Joannis Evangelistæ,' edit. 1617. col. 1045), and all the middle age theologians, adopted this opinion.

[1] See passages to this effect collected from the Fathers, both Greek and

inhabitants, and then of heaven with glorious saints, led upon the conjunction of man and wife, when there .t a man alone, God made him a woman and a helper Gen. 2. 22. a; a helper for many ends, for the propagation of his for the education of his children, for the rule of his ts, for the guiding of his estate; and therefore man oman, being to join themselves for such purposes, they ed have some insoluble knot to tie them together, and the bond of matrimony, which, when God hath tied, an can unloose again. This is the state that is here a of; that you here are to undertake; a state that hath ver more or less esteemed of as a thing sacred and re-; the title which the heathens give it is holy, *τοὺς γάμους*, saith Dionysius Halicarnassus [k], and the rites with these Jews here did solemnize it in their rituals, ours, are called '*Sancta* [l].'

the time. 'The third day there was a marriage.' this third day was, is needless to let you know, er the third day of the week, or the third day after aptism [m]; but be it as it was, a fit time it was for to be there, and to manifest Himself at it. Christ this time to be at a marriage [n]; had it been at some time, perhaps He would not have been there; but this fit time both to make good the testimony of John st, and to shew wherefore He came into the world. ohn Baptist had told wonderful things of Him but a ays since, and no doubt but the people wondered what er of person He should be, That should take away the f the world. A wonder lasts not long, yet three days st it useth to tarry [o], that they might have proof there-f St. John Baptist's testimony in time. The third day,

by Suicer, Thesaur. in voce ; Bellarm. de Monachis, l. ii. vol. 1. col. 1664. ed. Ingolst. and Gerh. Loc. Theolog. xvi. . Cottæ.

[k] *ἐκάλουν δὲ τοὺς ἱεροὺς οἱ παλαιοὶ Ῥωμαϊκῇ προσηγορίᾳ· περιλαμ-ς Φάρβακια.* Dion. Halic. edit. . 92.

[l] the religious character of the e rites of the Jews, see God-Moses and Aaron, p. 232. edit. and the notes of Hottinger to the same treatise in Ugolini's Thes. Antiq. Sacr. tom. iii. col. ccccxvii.

[m] The different opinions held upon this subject, are collected and examined by Maldonat, in his Commentary upon the passage.

[n] The opinions of the Fathers upon this subject also may be seen in the author just cited, and also in Barradii Harm. ii. 135.

[o] Erasm. Adag. Chil. ii. Cent. v. prov. 42.

SERM. III.

as there fell a marriage upon it, not without God's providence came Christ to work a miracle and confirm betimes what St. John had said of Him, that the people might perceive He had no false prophet to His forerunner.

And the third day, (that is, presently after,) because Christ chose to do His beginning of miracles at a marriage, it was to tell us wherefore He came, to unite Himself to His Church, and make a heavenly marriage, &c.

Now as Christ chose His time, and as the Church hath chose this time to propound the story of this marriage, so must we choose our times for it too; we have no miracles to work, but we have times to observe; there is a time for all things, a time to laugh and a time to weep. This is no weeping time; it is a time of joy, it butts[1] upon Christmas time, it is the third day since we began to celebrate the nativity of Christ, and a marriage time fits well withal. A time of mourning would not have done so well; and had Christ met with a marriage as He had been going to the wilderness to fast forty days, surely He would never have turned into it; but now when His time of fasting was done He went to a marriage. There is an order of the Church which forbids the solemnizing of marriages at certain times in the year[p]; not that it is unlawful at any time, but that it is not expedient at some. For duties belonging to marriage and mirth, and offices appertaining to penance and sorrow, are things altogether unsuitable; all the Prophets and all the Apostles tell us as much. And therefore as we might well think it a marvellous absurd thing to see in a church a solemn wedding kept upon a public and solemn day of fasting, so likewise our predecessors thought it fit to restrain the liberty of marriages during the time which was appointed either for preparation unto, or for exercise of general humiliation in prayer, and fasting, and weeping for our sins upon some days, which we commit all the days of our life, and perhaps should never think of any sorrow for them, had not the Church ordained such times to moan and lead us thereunto: such are the times of Advent, of Lent, of Ember times, and the like[q]; for if all times were open, we should,

Eccl. 3. 1, 2.

[1] 'butts,' i.e. adjoins.

Eccl. 3. 1, 2, 17; 1 Cor. 7. 5.

[p] Bingham, Orig. Eccl. xxii. ii. § 14. and Gerh. Loc. Com. Theolog. xv. 470.

[q] See Bingham, as quoted above, Bellarm. de Matrim. cap. 31.

&c. it is enough that some are open then, and it will be the greater commendation for you then, and the less trouble to your minds, that you are come hither in a due time to celebrate your marriage, even in a time of joy, when Christ came to this, without breaking any order or godly discipline of the Church.

For the place, in Cana of Galilee, we shall not need to say much; it was in that very place whereabout John Baptist was a-baptizing and preaching to the people of Christ; that so in the same place his doctrine might be confirmed, and the people's faith strengthened. The place which you have chosen is in your father's house, as Jacob was married to his wife in Laban's, her father's and her mother's own home; which will be a joy to them that see it, and a better confirming of their hope for God's blessing upon you. Gen. 29, 28.

Now for the guests; 'And the Mother of Jesus was there.' Clandestine and stolen marriages, whereat nobody might be present, were ever odious to God and men; this was none of them. It was the glory of our predecessors solemnly to celebrate their marriages, and to have as many witnesses at them as they could get[r]; and all to a good end; that they might pray, and testify how religiously the espoused gave their faith one to the other, to remain inviolable to their lives' end; that if they kept it so, it might be a joy to them; if they brake it, so many witnesses might rise up against them.

Witnesses and guests in this time, then, might be many; we are to speak of them that were extraordinary only; for it was St. John's intent, by naming those more than any other, to have us take some especial heed of them. Here is first, the Mother of Jesus. Mary was a woman that had found grace and favour with God, a woman that was saluted from heaven with an Angel, one whom all generations were to call 'blessed,' who was then a saint on earth, who is now a most glorious saint in heaven. Sure they must needs think some great blessing would come upon the marriage, the rather by having her there. The custom was then to call grave Lu. 1. 28, 30. Lu. 1. 48.

[r] See Bingham, Orig. Eccl. xxii. iv. § 1. and § 3; Gerh. Loc. Com. xv. 463; Nicholls on the Common Prayer, note on the word '*Friend*,' in the Rubric to the Marriage Service.

SERM. III. matrons to the wedding of young people, that so they might have a pattern of modesty, and gravity, and godliness, and honesty, for them to imitate all their life after. Now as the world goes in our days, these customs are almost forgotten; for we use to call the youth of the parish and the minstrels of the country; music and melody are the two matrons we look after; Venus for the Virgins, and Bacchus for Christ. A sad difference! as if men and women meant to purchase jollity enough for one day of their marriage, and repentance enough for all the days of their life after. This is a fashion for gentiles; the people of the nations may frisk, *vos autem non sic*, it must not, and I am glad it is not like to be so with you, who (God be thanked) have been better taught.

'And Mary the Mother of Jesus was there.' Her being there commended the marriage as a thing not wantonly, or lightly, or suddenly undertaken, (as God knows they are too often so with us,) but solemnly and deliberately in the fear of God[s], as they were then, as they ought to be now, according to order, as our Church book teacheth us to speak. Had it been otherwise, surely she would never have been there; but being so, and her being at it, it brought on a better guest than she was; which is the next thing, 'And Jesus was also called to the marriage.'

I have wondered often why Mary should be named first, and Jesus after her; why not Jesus before Mary? and I find it is for nothing else but to tell us that unless Mary had been there first, Jesus would never have come thither. Mary's being there made it a solemn and a grave meeting; to such a meeting Christ would come; had it been without Mary, that is, without gravity and sobriety, He would have turned another way, and never have vouchsafed His presence at it. And the only reason why Christ comes to no more of our weddings than He does,—as you see by the effect of most on them,—is because we invite not His Mother first, that is, sobriety and temperance, and a holy religious intent to be joined together now, to live together hereafter in the fear of God, and keeping of His commandments. But forsooth, all our thoughts must be taken up with the pleasure

[s] 'Reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God.' Order for the solemnization of matrimony.

and jollity that we shall now come to enjoy, with the honour and worship that shall now be done us, over that we had before; with the wealth that we shall wallow in, especially if the portion and the jointure be any thing great; and therefore Christ seldom or never comes among us at such times.

For He hath sent His Mother before Himself, and if she finds the place fit for her, then good, He will come after; if otherwise, there is no place for Him. He would have our thoughts taken up with a wife's virtues, when we marry one, and not with her visage; with her goodness that she brings, and not with her goods[t]: the worst wives having many times the best portions, and the best wives (such a one as Esther was) having oft times none at all. Marry, the world runs now for wives as Judas ran to the High-Priests for money, with *quantum dabis*, what will ye give? no matter what she hath besides, though both would do well together, howsoever. And if the maiden chance to say, with Peter, *aurum et argentum non est mihi*, 'gold and silver have I none, but such as I have shall be yours,' let her be as obedient as ever Sarah was, as devout as Anna, as loving as Rebecca, as virtuous as the Virgin Mary,—yet all shall be esteemed as nothing, *quærenda pecunia primum est*[u], other things may mend it, but money makes the match. It will hardly be believed, if we tell the world that money commonly mars it; but believe it or not, that which makes it good, is goodness; and to have the Mother of Jesus, and the blessing of Jesus with it, is worth the greatest dowry that now-a-days is given; to want them, be the dowry what it will be, be the beauty of the maid, the credit of her house, the greatness of her stock, never so great, all will be but vanity, and turn to vexation of spirit. A woman is like a ship, saith Solomon; she is like a ship indeed; if she hath not gravity to balance her, and discretion to guide her, she flies up and down without a pilot; inconstant, light-headed and vain; now she loves, and anon she hates; now she obeys, and anon she scorns; gentle to-

Esth. 2. 7.

Mat. 26. 15.

Acts 3. 6.

Prov. 31. 14.

[t] Si uxorari oportet, ... sit amor in causa, non census; et faciem uxoris eligas non vestem, et animum non aurum, et tibi nubat uxor non dos. Epistola Valerii ad Ruffinum de uxore non ducenda. Inter Epp. S. Hieronymi, p. 207. edit. Antv. 1579.

[u] Horat. Ep. i. l. 53.

SERM. III.

day, and rough to-morrow; she goes by tides and all her goodness takes her by fits, like the good days of a double tertian[v]; and though she seems good for seven days at first, she makes amends and is naught seven years after; so that, as it was said of Jephthah's daughter, that she went out to bewail the days of her virginity, may be said in truth of many men's daughters. For if they bring not more of Mary and Jesus with them than of other company, and more of their virtues than of other endowments, they, or their husbands, may go out and bewail the days of their marriage too, and wish they were set in their single life again. And what I say of one sex, for equity's sake I say of the other too.

Judg. 11. 37, 38.

'And Jesus was also called, with His disciples, to the marriage.' It may be that they were called out of some special devotion and faith that they had in Him, that all things should go well with them, both that day and all their days after, if they might but be blessed with His presence once; for so king David would needs have the Ark of God into his house, and his house was the better for it ever after; and so Zaccheus received Christ into his house with joy, and salvation was brought unto his house by it.

1 Chron. 17. 25, 26, 27. See 13. 14. Lu. 19. 9.

But whether it were out of faith or confidence in Him, or no, as yet it was early days with any believers, sure we are it was out of charity and good affection to Him, neither did they lose their reward for that. He that receives a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall have a prophet's reward; and Christ would come when He was called, were it but to commend charity and hospitality to us, and to tell us how facile He is of His own goodness; that be the persons what they will that call Him, if they do but call upon Him He will hear, and give them their desire withal; nay, so full of goodness, that if they forget to call, He will come and call and knock Himself, if they will but open to Him, not shut the doors against Him, they shall have His blessing. That if any call now; but for the call of marriage more specially, because there is more need of Him then, than at any other time.

Mat. 10. 41.

[v] An ague intermitting but one day, so that there are two fits in three days. Johnson's Dict.

(1.) For first, they that marry are like them that venture at sea; they venture their estate, venture their peace, venture their liberty; yea many a two venture their souls too, as Solomon did with his concubines, and Herod with his brother's wife; that if Christ be not at hand to save them, they are ever and anon ready to perish. 1 Kings 11. 3. Mat. 14. 3.

(2.) They that marry must commonly leave father and mother, and sister and brother, and kindred, and a great deal of other comforts which they were wont to enjoy; that if Christ were not at hand to be as all these unto them, most an end it would so fall out, that the latter end of these people would be worse than the beginning. But when Christ comes to the marriage, there will be no want of other company. If thou must forsake thy father's house, said God to Jacob, be not afraid of that, for *Ego Dominus tecum ero*, I will be with thee. It is some comfort yet that we shall have somebody with us, when we must leave our wonted acquaintance, and yet here is not every somebody, but here is Christ Himself, that by His presence here hath promised His presence and assistance to all them that shall join themselves and live according to His holy ordinance. And they that have Him shall be in Enoch's case, though all the world forsake them yet shall they walk with God; or in Daniel's, who had none but Michael the archangel to help him, there is company enough; and as Christ, when all forsook Him and fled, 'Yet am I not alone, for the Father is with Me.' So whatsoever they be put to, yet are they not alone, for Christ is with them. And though men think themselves safe enough, as long as they be in their father's house, yet this, *erat Jesus ibi*, is worth all; for Isaac was in his father's house, and yet he had like to have lost his life if God had not been with him; and Jacob was in his mother's house, and yet the best counsel she could give him was to take to his heels from the fury of Esau; the Shunamite's child in his mother's lap, and yet not safe. If God and Christ be not with us, nobody is with us; if They will vouchsafe Their presence, nobody will be against us. A fruitful vine shall grow upon the tops of our houses, and our children shall stand like olive branches round about our table; which is the happiness, that I wish from this day Gen. 12. 1. Gen. 5. 22. 24. Dan. 10. 21. Joh. 16. 32. Gen. 22. 10. Gen. 27. 43. 2 Kings 4. 32. Ps. 128.

SERM. III. forward may befall you, as it hath done others of your stock before you.

(3.) The married life is so full of troubles, vexations, crosses, while (as God made the order at first) the man must sweat with weariness abroad, and the woman wear herself with sorrow at home; she to bring forth children, and he to bring them up[x]; and though all their life be spent in some ease, yet when they grow to age, to be despised of others, to be lame, and blind, and deaf, to have palsies, and gouts, and agues upon them; why, if Christ were not by to help them, and to comfort them with His presence, what joy could they take in such a state of life that had brought all these miseries upon them?

Gen. 3. 16, 19.

(4.) Last of all; had not Christ vouchsafed His presence at this marriage, men might have had cause to doubt, as they did in the Gospel, whether it were good to marry at all, or no; for first, He was a virgin Himself, and His Mother, she was a virgin; neither He nor she would lead any other lives; and married life itself seems to be but an imperfect state, the state of perfection is virginity, so much commended by our Saviour, so highly esteemed by St. Paul. Besides, those that thought themselves wise men of old, were little in love with marriage, insomuch that one said it would be a happy world if there were no women in it; as Cato; and that if they were out, God would come oftener among us than He does[y]; that a woman was a necessary evil, and that a wise man would never marry one of them[z]. All which considered, it was necessary that Christ should confirm the honour and honesty of this estate by His presence, as being a state of life, for all their discourse, both pleasing and acceptable to God, if it be undertaken according to His holy will and ordinance.

Mat. 19. 10.

And what greater comfort can there be to any than to

[x] Tribulatio autem est ..... in suspicionibus zeli conjugalis, in procreandis filiis atque nutriendis, in timoribus et mœroribus orbitatis. Quoties enim quisque, cum se connubii vinculis alligaverit, non istis trahitur atque agitatur affectibus. S. August. de Sancta Virgin. c. 16. tom. vi. 254. edit. Bened. fol. Ant. 1700.

[y] Ait Cato Uticensis, 'Si absque fœmina posset esse mundus, conversatio nostra non esset absque Diis.' Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum, inter Opp. S. Hieronymi, Epist. 49. edit. Antv. 1579. p. 207. See also L. C. Rhodegini Lect. Antiqq. xiii. 14. col. 757. edit. Franc. 1666.

[z] A large collection of these passages from the sayings of the ancients may be seen in the Hieron. adv. Jovinian. i. 28, 29. Opp. ii. 161, 162. edit. fol. Ant. 1578.

know that the state wherein they live is pleasing to Almighty God, without which confidence every day would be a dismal, a miserable day unto them.

Then to make an end. If you that are here to be married, would have all things to succeed well with you, you are to take this marriage here for a pattern to make yours by. If wantonness and lightness, with their attendants, be sent away, and Mary the Mother of Jesus be sent for to you; if Christ and His disciples be invited to bless your marriage day now, to guide you in your married life hereafter, Christ is so gentle and ready to be with you, that He will work miracles but you shall have a blessing; it will do you good all the days of your life, and after this marriage, and this life, bring you at last to a more lasting marriage with the Lamb, and a life that shall never fail.

To which He bring us all, Who hath purchased the same for us, Christ Jesus, &c., to Whom, &c.

SERMON IV.[a]

MATTHEW iv. 6.

If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down headlong, for it is written, He shall give His Angels charge over Thee, and with their hands they shall hold Thee up, lest at any time Thou dash Thy foot against a stone.

[*If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down, for it is written, He shall give His Angels charge concerning Thee; and in their hands they shall bear Thee up, lest at any time Thou dash Thy foot against a stone.*]

SERM. IV.

So the devil upon a day tempted Christ, so the devil every day tempts us, whose whole life is little else but a time of temptation from our cradle to our grave; and though many and various the temptations are which we suffer from him, yet most an end he works upon us with such as this was, to make us presume upon God's mercy, make us believe that we are the sons of God, and then that we may cast ourselves headlong into what sins we list, that we should be never a whit the worse for it, but as often as we fell down, He and His Angels would take us up again.

I know we will all confess that this should not be, that presumption is a high sin; yet if any such temptation comes, I know not how it comes about, but for all that, we will presume to die for it, we will be venturing to have our will, come of it what will come: and the mischief is, that we have no sense of the devil's device in it, or that there comes any devil to us for the matter.

In which regard, it may do some good to let you see both how the devil deceives you, and how you deceive yourselves;

[a] From internal evidence it would appear that this and the following discourse were written in the year 1625. See the note at the end of the next sermon.

how his way is like a serpent's way over the stones, that over is come, indeed, but a man cannot tell how; that goes so slyly, and creeps so slow, that a man sees him before he knows what way he gat in:—and how your way is like the downfal of a rock, or the fearful way from the height of a pinnacle, where (for all the devil's fair words) there are no Angels to hold you up, but them that will take you by the feet, and dash your head against the stones.

And a better way to let you see both the subtilty (as I say) of his way, and the danger of your own, I cannot take, than in this place of Scripture, where they are both laid out to the open view of all, that when you have seen them and looked upon them, you may (as you use to do in other ways of danger) decline them, and come there no more. If any of you be so presumptuous that he will keep on his old way still, yet (that which for this time concerns me) I shall have quitted myself of an office; and as the man of God told the king, I shall let you understand where the trains are laid for you. 1 Kings 20. 22.

And it will be a good commodity, this, for them that will use it, to have notice beforehand of an adversary's forces, and of the manner of his fight; we shall ward off his blows the better, when they come; and though his darts be fiery, yet if we make preparation, they may be quenched, as St. Paul speaks, and Satan shall not circumvent us. Eph. 6. 16.

For the text then; it is the temptation of the pinnacle, a temptation that the devil uses to bring men to presumption and wantonness withal.

It hath three general parts. The first is, the colouring and oiling of it over, to make it come on the better, by a pretext of being the son of God: 'If thou be the Son of God.'

The second is the temptation, and the very fiery dart itself: Make no more ado, but cast Thyself down headlong.

And the third is the cost which he bestows upon it, to make it fly and pierce the better, by an allegation of a choice piece of Scripture, (which is a cost that he bestowed upon neither of his other temptations,) 'for it is written,' (I have it here in the Psalms to shew you,) 'He shall give His Angels charge over Thee, and with their hands they shall

SERM. IV. bear Thee up, lest at any time Thou dash Thy foot against a stone.'

These three; and these three to be the heads, from whence all other parts of the text, as they shall come in order, and all the parts of our ensuing discourse, are to flow. Of these then, that we may speak that which shall be honourable to Almighty God, and profitable to ourselves, I shall desire you, &c.

THE BIDDING OF THE COMMON PRAYERS.

Pater Noster.

I. 'If Thou be the Son of God.' For the better understanding of which words, and what the devil meant by them in this place, we must a little reflect upon the former temptation. There he used the same phrase before; and here he is up with it again; 'If Thou be the Son of God.' He was much troubled with it, it seems, and a great mote it was in his eye, that by a voice from heaven, as a little while since at
Mat. 3. 17. His baptism, Christ should be said and proclaimed to be the Son of God. That voice bred all this mischief; and no sooner was it sent from heaven, but up comes the devil from hell to send it back again; and because it came out of the clouds, ye shall see what ways and turnings the devil has to wrap it up in the clouds again, that it might be no more heard of here on earth[b].

(1.) He comes first like a desperate and a murmuring devil, with a few stones in his hand, and an 'if' of doubt and desperation in his mouth, and tells Christ that sure the voice from heaven was but a deceitful voice; that it could not be that He should be *Filius dilectus*, the well beloved Son of God; for the children of God do not use to be so dealt withal as He was, to have nothing but a heap of stones set before Him, when they desire food to eat; for what man is there,
Mat. 7. 9. who if his son ask him bread, would give him a stone? and therefore that He was but some hunger-bitten child, who was cast out of the world, and no such beloved Son of God as the voice from heaven made Him believe He was. This was his first 'if;' 'If Thou be the Son of God;' to bring Him by a

[b] See Jansenii Concord. cap. xv. p. 126. edit. fol. Lugd. 1577.

doubt to despair[c] of it, and to resolve with Himself that the Son of God He was not. And this way would do no good.

Now seeing that would not prevail, he goes another way to work; and here he comes like a fine white devil, like a pure, smooth-tongued hypocrite, with no more doubting 'ifs,' whether He were the Son of God, or no; but an 'if' of flattery in his mouth; that surely the Son of God He was; 'If Thou be the Son of God;' an 'if' of concession and granting, that he would have Him make no question of it, but that He was the very Son of God indeed. So you see the difference betwixt these two 'ifs,' and the sense of it, as it is to be taken in this place.

That you see; and you may see withal the wonderful device of the devil, who can transform himself with one and the same saying in his mouth, to two several shapes. Before, He was not the Son of God, by these very words; and now He is the Son of God, by these very words again. He makes them serve for two contrary purposes; there, he would make it serve for desperation; and when that would not do, here he would make it serve for presumption; that one way or other, he might prevail. In the former temptation he came out like a malcontent and a murmurer, but here he comes forth like a flattering parasite. Well then, if Thou be the Son of God, as I doubt not but Thou art, as now I grant indeed, I was in some doubt before, but now I confess Thou art, now I am of the Voice's mind, which did pronounce Thee to be so at Thy Baptism,—You are His well-beloved Son, and He will be well pleased with whatsoever You please to do. So now He shall have too much of it, as before He had too little; and when the light will not out by taking away the oil, He shall have too much of it, He shall swim in the oil of ostentation, to see an that would put it out.

A case that happens to us all. When a man will not be presumptuous, then he is a fit subject to be brought unto despair; and when he will not be distrustful, then make him to presume. If he will not superstitiously dote upon the Church, then bring him to that which our people are most an end brought unto, make him not care for it at all; or if

[c] See the passages from the Fathers quoted by Barradius, Harm. Evang. ii. 67.

SERM. IV. not that, send him over sea and make him dote again. There might be many more instances; still he comes in extremes and contraries, that if he be refused and known to be a devil in the one, ye may at least accept him, and think him to be an Angel in the other; for who would think it, that he were the man that should tempt anybody to presumption, that had before laboured for distrust? or that he would make the flame fly out of the chimney, and set the whole house a-fire, that had so lately set his foot on it, and done his endeavour to put it quite out? Marry, he that is acquainted with the devil's devices will think it, and know it too; for though it be not the same temptation, yet it is the same devil in both places; and the sudden alteration from one contrary to another, is but to colour the device over, and make us believe they cannot both be ill.

But seeing that by both the devil seeks our destruction, we are to take a like heed of both; though his two 'ifs' be contrary to themselves, yet are they both also contrary to the Word of God, which will neither have us to distrust Him, nor presume upon Him.

(2.) Secondly, 'If Thou be the Son of God,' may be taken as an outfacing argument; as when we would importune a man to do any thing, we use to press and urge him with that which he must not for shame deny; if you be such and such a man, if there be any spark of a good spirit in you, if there be any honesty in you, you will not refuse to do it. So the devil comes as if he must have no denial at all, unless Christ would confess Himself to be none of God's Son, and then the devil had had his end; just as the
Joh. 19.12. Jews by his counsel, I make no question, dealt with Pilate, 'If thou let Him go, thou art no friend to Cesar,' and, 'if He had
Joh. 18. 30. not been a malefactor, we would never have brought Him unto thee.' No, the devil he desires you to do nothing but what you must needs yield to yourselves, that it is very requisite to be done; if it were a matter unfitting, he would never ask it at your hands; and this is the strongest temptation of all; though it would not outface Christ, yet it will outface us. And therefore above all other, heed is to be taken of an outfacing temptation.

(3.) Now, thirdly, if Christ were the Son of God, as the

devil confesses Him to be, what had he to do with Him? They cry out ere long, 'What have we to do with Thee, O Thou Son of the living God?' No, nothing to do with Him when He comes to torment him. Do but resist the devil and he will fly from you, he will not come near you. Marry, an ye be willing (as Christ made Himself here for our warning of the danger) to go along with him, then he has to do with you in a hundred different ways; be what sons of God ye will, that one way or other, he may make you, as himself is, the sons of darkness; and for the better bringing of his ends about, he will be still sure in all his talk to make an 'if' of it, and so wind in with an ill consequence at last; and by often bringing it into question, whether we be the sons of God, he may at last make it out of question, that we are not the sons of God; bring his *si sis* into a *ne sis* and make us like himself. And so much for the first part of the devil's device; a wonderful and a strange device, to persuade us that we are the sons of God, and by that very persuasion to make us the sons of the devil. Mat. 8. 29.

II. For you shall see what his induction is; 'If Thou be the Son of God cast Thyself down headlong;' and this is the second part, the very fiery dart of the devil's temptation.

And here we have three points to consider.

The first is, the ill consequence of the words, that if He were the Son of God, He should presently give a leap from the pinnacle, and work a miracle.

The second is, the presumption which he persuades Him to, to take no ordinary way to go down, but to make no more ado but cast Himself down, and put Himself upon providence.

The third is, that earnest suit which he makes for it; he would not thrust Him down, but of His own accord He Himself must cast Himself down.

(1.) For the first then, it was no good consequence we say, that if He were the Son of God, He should presently cast Himself down. 'Yes,' says the devil, 'by this, all the world shall see that You are the Son of God, if You can leap down and get no hurt.' So this was his drift, because Christ was the Son of God, to make Him brag of it, and carry it

SERM. IV. out with an ostentation, that the Son of God He was, and not like other men; a device that he has for us, when we are somewhat nearer to God than other men, persuade us not to be content with that, but to blaze it abroad the world and make a boasting and a show of it, as such do that love to be called the professors of the Gospel, and the dear children of God, dearer and whiter and purer sons, and so bolder sons, than any other men whatsoever. But to see now what a *non sequitur* this is, Christ was the Son of God,—well what of that?—therefore He must needs shew Himself to be so, and work a miracle when there was no necessity of having any wrought. What a consequence was this here! At other times, indeed, miracles were done by Him, they were all to good ends; but here it could be for no other end but vain-glory and ostentation; no other use could have been made of it; and if Christ had yielded to it, or if any man else in the like case should yield to the devil's temptation, he should shew himself indeed, but he should shew himself to be none of the sons of God. So this is no good logic, it is an argument of an ill consequence; let us not be carried away with it, if at any time it happens to be our case, as here it was Christ's.

(2.) Second, 'Cast Thyself down;' this is that he looked for, the very temptation itself, that being now aloft, He would make no more ado but presume[d] upon His Father, and pitch His head upon the ground. So now we are come to know why he brought Him up, that it was for nothing else but to have Him down again the faster; it was the way that he took of old for himself, and ever since his device hath been how to get more after him; he would needs exalt himself above the stars, and down he fell lower than the earth; that if he could have got Christ down with him now, he knew by experience (whatsoever his pretence was) that all the Angels of heaven could not have Him up again. But this is it which we are here to observe; by such dealing as this was, we may see to what end all the devil's exaltings come[e]. If he brings any man to the pinnacle, it is but to send him down head-

[d] See the quotations from St. Gregory the Great, Haymo and Beda in Barrad. Harm. Evang. ii. 70.

[e] Diabolus semper ad alta ducit, elevando per jactantiam, ut præcipitare possit. Glossa Ordinar. ad locum.

long, faster than ever he came up; by little and little he lifts a man up, first to this preferment, and then to that, and then to another, and to a higher yet; and so when he has gotten him aloft, he can send him downwards again in an instant; not by degrees, as he came up, but like lightning, Lu. 10. 18. as he came down himself, and was undone by it for ever. Perhaps he may let us alone a while, and let us stand upon a pinnacle, to our thinking as safe as them that walk upon the ground; but as soon as a little wind of trouble and adversity comes, then off we go, and we shall be sure to pay for our high standing. This is the devil's course with them that are at league with him, and will follow his devices. Now God has taken another course with His, for He humbles a man first, and then He exalts him afterwards. 'He hath exalted the humble and meek,' said the blessed Virgin; and Lu. 1. 52. 'he that humbleth himself shall be exalted,' saith our blessed Saviour. But the devil, he exalts a man first, and Lu. 14. 11. then humbles him after; lifts him up on high, *ut lapsu graviore ruat*, that he may cast him headlong down again. So he lifted up Adam and Eve to *eritis sicut dii*, with a conceit that they should be gods themselves, the very height of Gen. 3. 5. perfection; and when all came to all, it was for nothing else but that he might bring them down again a great deal lower than they were before, even to be compared unto the beasts that perish.

The lesson is, that if we would not be cast down by him, we must take heed of being any way, or in any matter whatsoever, lifted up by him; for we must not all think to escape as Christ did; He had power to throw the devil down, and He went not up with him for any other purpose but to shew us the danger and the hazard men are in, when they will follow the devil to a pinnacle, or their ambition, and other sins they love, to the height. This one may be sure on, that in all manner of sin and temptation there is a casting down; and the devil never allures us to commit a sin, but he makes us withal to throw ourselves down headlong; headlong from the spirit to the flesh, from the commandments of God to the vanities of the world, from high virtues to base vices, and so from being the sons of God and of light, to become the sons of hell and darkness; and he never allures us upwards the

SERM. IV. other way but to cast ourselves downwards. And this is the second.

(3.) But now, in the third point, there is a little more comfort yet, that the devil must become a suitor to Christ, that He would cast Himself down. A man may wonder, an the devil had such a mind to have Christ down, why he did not throw Him down himself? But alas! it was beyond his power, that; or if it had not, yet that would not have served his turn; for then Christ should not have been in the fault, and it was not the fall, but the fault that he looked after. It is our case, the devil winds us up, and he would gladly have us down again, but he would have us to cast ourselves down, or else the fall may do us some hurt, perhaps, but it can do him no good. It is our sin that he looks after, and he knows it too well, that there must go two persons to a sin, or else it will never be done. It is the devil and man that make up a sin; it is not the devil alone; and sure it is, he can never throw us down unless we consent on to it ourselves[f]. And therefore, though it be one of St. Chrysostom's paradoxes, yet it is a marvellous good one and a Christian-like, that *nemo læditur nisi a seipso*[g], that if we throw not ourselves away, the devil hath no power to do it[h]; which is no more than St. Austin[i] and all the ancient Fathers say, that *omne peccatum est voluntarium*, when we sin the fault is in our own wills, for we should not have consented, and then no sin would follow; and therefore it is a wicked and a most pernicious opinion that some of our new masters have brought up of late, (an opinion fit for devils and not for Christians,) that some men are forced and necessitated to sin, and throw themselves away, whether they will or no[k]. I shall beseech you to take heed that they which teach you such

[f] Dicit autem [diabolus] 'Mitte Te; quia vox diaboli, qui semper homines cadere deorsum desiderat, persuadere potest; præcipitare non potest. S. Hieron. in Tho. Aquin. Cat. Aur. ad locum.

[g] See the Homily bearing this title, in the edition of Erasmus, vol. v. fol. 213, b. edit. fol. 1536. or in Saville's edition, vii. 36.

[h] A few words are here nearly illegible in the MS.

[i] Opp. viii. 346, 347, &c.

[k] Allusion is here made to the recent proceedings of the Synod of Dort, whose decisions had attracted considerable interest throughout England. The third of these Articles, treating 'of man's free will in the state of nature,' asserts 'That by Adam's fall his posterity lost their free-will, being put to an unavoidable necessity to do or not to do, whatsoever they do or do not, whether it be good or evil, being thereunto predestinated by the eternal and effectual secret decree of God.'

things be not listened after, for they savour of the lake, and your souls will be destroyed with the scent. It is not true; God doth not, and the devil cannot, necessitate anybody to sin; and therefore we see in Genesis that he did not cram the forbidden fruit into their mouths, whether they would or no, but he persuades them to take it, and eat it themselves; for full well he knew their own eating, and their own wilfulness, and neither his subtlety, nor his violence, would get them the fall. And when it is said in the Gospel, that the Evil Spirit enters into a man, it is not said that he breaks open the door, or that he does so much as draw the latch, but that he finds it empty and open already, and all things swept and garnished, ready for his entertainment. So that if we reach not out our hands to welcome him when he comes, and set not our doors open to let him in when he knocks, his temptations can never do us hurt; he can but entreat us, as here he did Christ, and if we fall, the fault is our own, we cast ourselves down headlong into misery and sin. That's for the devil's part. Mat.12.44.

Then for God's part. We may be sure that He, of all others, will not cast us down, if we will keep ourselves up; for He desires not either the death, or the overthrow of any man. And therefore, as it was His command of old in Deuteronomy, that when a material house were built, there should be battlements made upon the roof, for fear of falling down when any man went up, and spilling his blood; so in His spiritual buildings, He hath set Himself and His own assistance for our battlement, hath made a hedge about us, as the devil said concerning Job; that unless we will take our raise[1] ourselves and leap over it, or break it down and throw ourselves headlong through it, we are safe enough. This Christ knew well enough, and therefore He trusted to this, that we might learn of Him, how ill a thing it is to trust to ourselves. And that's the third thing and the last there. Deut.22.8. Job 1. 10.

[1] race

Now you shall see what course the devil takes to get this trust away from Him; and so we come to the third part of the text; the cost which he does bestow upon his temptation, to make it enter the better.

III. He comes with a Psalm-book in his hand and a piece of Scripture in his mouth to tell Him that since He would

SERM. IV. needs trust, he would set Him a-trusting, He should trust as much as He would; that is, He should trust too much. And as in the former temptation he brought Him to the waters of Meribah, to murmur and distrust; so here he brings Him to the waters of Massah, to be wanton and trust beyond His battlements. By the one he would persuade both Him and us, as St. Augustine saith, *Deum non affuturum ubi promisit*, that God hath no care of us according to His promise; by the other, he would persuade us, *Deum affuturum ubi non promisit*, that God would take any care of us, even against His promise: and so by the first he slandereth the God of heaven, as if He were some step-father, a hard man and a god of iron; and by this he slanders Him, as if He were a father to be commanded at a beck, and a god of clouts to be put to base and contemptible offices. First, that we are none of His children, and that if we do trust in Him, He will fail us at the end; and then that we are such beloved children, such dear darlings, that trust in Him, and presume upon Him as much as we will, throw ourselves down headlong into what sin we list, He will be our good father still, He will have mercy at last, and will never suffer us to come unto any hurt for it. This is the sum and the scope of his tempting speech. Now if the time would serve, we should consider it a little more narrowly; I will but begin it and end it at a more [convenient opportunity.]

Num. 20. 13, 24. Ex. 17. 7.

'For it is written.' With the self-same armour that Christ bare off his other dart, with alleging of Scripture, doth the devil sharpen this dart, and throws it in to maintain his argument that presumption is good divinity: since Christ brought Scripture to resist him, he would make his part good with Scripture too; and therefore here he brings it in. Now it is to be noted he doth not so (as I told you at first) in any of his other temptations, and therefore we are to look for some great matter from him here in this. A great matter indeed, and a great deal to be said of it, so much that it will require one whole sermon for itself; and therefore I dare but name it now, and tell you in brief that the reason why the devil hath bestowed such cost upon this temptation, more than upon the rest, is, because he knows a presumptuous sin is a costly sin indeed to us, and would be gainful to him above

any else. Therefore it is that, before all others, David desires God to keep him from presumptuous sins; for if it comes to this once, the devil has his end, and we have ours an end, that he had, by the very same sin; which is a fearful downfal from heaven and from the mercies of God withal. The sin of presumption, as divines[1] say, being one, or very near one, of the sins against the Holy Ghost, which shall not easily be forgiven. For a conclusion then, since we see thus much already, that above all other sins which the devil would have us commit, this is that he sets his greatest care upon, and, as we say, spends his wits, his learning, his cunning in the Scriptures, his wet and his dry upon it; in that regard are we also to set our greatest care against his, to set watch and ward about our souls: and above all other things, to keep ourselves from presumptuous sins, that is, from a wilful casting ourselves into sin; and when we stand safe already with God's graces and favours, like battlements round about us, to break them all down, and throw ourselves headlong into mischief, where God knows what will become of us. Let us not deceive ourselves, and hope for Angels to come and take us up again, because the devil hath here alleged Scripture for it; for if you will but look into your Psalter anon, after you are gone, you shall find that he hath both abused us, and the place too, and hath cast out the principal matter that made against him, for that Psalm does not say that the Angels shall have an absolute charge either of Him or us, a charge without any limitation at all; that they must hold us up, come we down which way we will, headlong or any way over God's bounds which He hath set us; but that they should hold us up in all His ways. We must keep us here, and then they will look to us. So that out of God's way, the Angels have no charge over us.

Ps. 19. 13.

Mat. 12. 31.

Ps. 91. 11, 12.

The way then will be to keep us there in His ways, and not to run a wanton course in our own; and then we shall be sure of them; they shall stretch their wings over us, and pitch their tents round about us to defend us. They shall preserve us from the snare which we see not, as it is in that Psalm, From the terror of the night, and from the arrow that

[1] S. Thom. Aquin. 2a. 2æ. q. 14. art. 1. Pet. Lomb. Sentent. lib. 2. dist. 43, and Estius in locum, ii. 441, edit. 1615.

SERM. IV. Ps. 91. 5, 6. flieth by day, (and which at this time we have great need on[m],) from that *dæmon meridianus*, the plague that killeth in the darkness, and the sickness that destroyeth in the noon-day. All these comforts, and more than these, even the comforts of heaven, shall be to them that so put their trust in God as that they fear Him withal, and walk in His ways, according to that of the Psalmist, Blessed are they that fear the Lord and put their trust in His mercy; fear Him first and keep His way, and then trust in Him that He will keep us.

Ps. 147. 11.

To which fear and to which trust, and from all other fears and trusts but these, He bring us That hath purchased mercy for us, Christ Jesus, &c.

[m] From this passage we may conjecture that this Sermon was preached in A.D. 1625, in which summer, according to Rushworth, (i. 171. edit. 1721,) "the pestilence raged in London. At the entrance of the late king [James the First] there was a great plague in the City, but this was far greater, the greatest that ever was known in the nation." A passage in the following Sermon, upon the same text, is yet more definite; see p. 78.

SERMON V.

St. Matthew iv. 6.

... *For it is written, He shall give His Angels charge over Thee; and with their hands they shall hold Thee up, lest at any time Thou dash Thy foot against a stone.*

[... *He shall give His Angels charge concerning Thee; and in their hands they shall bear Thee up, lest at any time Thou dash Thy foot against a stone.*]

We began this text before, and in our meditations we saw what wreaths and windings the old serpent had, to turn himself round, or at length, to pull in, or let out, as he listed; that first he would have Christ not to trust God at all, but to shift for Himself, and make the stones His bread; and then to do nothing else but trust Him, do nothing Himself but go down headlong into mischief, and rely upon God's mercy for it that He should never take any hurt by the matter: for lest any man should tell Him that presumption in such a case is no good divinity, he will prove it out of the written Word of God, You must not deny it, for it is written, He shall give His Angels charge over Thee, &c.

St. Paul tells us that the devil's temptations are fiery darts, and this was one of them. The fire that prepared it went before, and it was still wrought upon that anvil, *si sis Filius Dei*, 'if Thou be the Son of God;' he would try Him here. And the dart being so wrought, we have seen also how it was cast; it was cast when he bade Christ cast Himself down headlong, 'If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down headlong;' so far we went already. Now are we to come to the third point, which is the very point of the dart, the sharpening it, and the cost bestowed upon it, to make it

Eph. 6. 16.

SERM. V. enter the better; that is, the place of Scripture which here the devil does allege to persuade Christ, and every one else that is the son of God, that they may safely presume upon His mercy for any thing; for it is written, 'He shall give His Angels charge,' &c.

Which words we must not now handle as if we had David's Psalter in our hand, and the ninety-first Psalm for our text; for then perhaps we should work a little higher; but we are to consider them as they are in the devil's mouth, and here in this place alleged and perverted for his own purpose, as far as they do, or do not, concern that which he would have had them; whether it be so good trusting to God or no, as that if we be His sons we may leap over the battlements and bounds that He hath set us, and throw ourselves headlong into what sin and danger we please.

I will proceed in this order, to let you first see the devil's cunning in alleging any Scripture at all, 'It is written;'

And secondly, his master-cunning in alleging such a choice and master-piece of Scripture, so full of comfort and promises as this is, 'He shall give,' &c.

And thirdly, his falsehood in leaving out that which made against him, for the charge and the promises were that the Angels should keep Him in all His ways; the devil he leaves out that, and says, they shall keep Him howsoever, whether He keep His ways or not;

And lastly, his fraud and malice in perverting the whole sense of the text, as if it served to make presumption lawful, and to rely upon God's providence for any thing; good religion, whenas in such cases as these, it was mere devil-divinity. These four to be our heads that we take; from which divers other branches will spring, which we mind to reach at as we go along. Of these then, that we may speak to the honour of Almighty God, and to the edification of our own souls, I shall desire you to join with me in humble and hearty prayer, &c.

THE BIDDING OF THE COMMON PRAYERS.

Pater Noster.

1. 'For it is written.' That is the first thing I propounded, the devil's cunning to allege Scripture for what he said.

To make his temptation take the better, he comes in with his authority, and his *scriptum est;* he will shew you a place of Scripture for it, a text out of David's Psalms, that you may see he counsels you to nothing but what the word of God would bear you out in. When St. Paul would commend a thing, says he, 'Do I say so? doth not the law say the same?' so says the devil here, Do I persuade you to this? and doth not the Book of Psalms commend the same? He speaks not after the manner of men, he, but he has the Scripture at his fingers' end, so it is no more he that speaketh, but the Spirit of God That is within him. 1 Cor. 9. 8.

In his first temptation he came like a murmuring malcontent, without any Scripture in his mouth at all; that would not do; Christ quotes him a place of Scripture and he was gone. But then he studies on the matter which way to come again. *Scriptum est?* says the devil, It is written? said Christ so? And He was acquainted with the Scripture too? Well, then, since Scripture was so gracious with Him, he could bring in Scripture as well as Christ; and so bethinking himself presently he throws away his stones, and gets him a Psalm-book in his hand, puts off his foul shape of a devil and a murmurer, and gets him into the weeds of a holy professor, and so with a demure look, and set countenance, he comes back again this second time to Christ, tells Him that he had heard Him erewhiles talk of Scripture, and that therefore he had brought Scripture for Him, as liking very well of that godly course of quoting Scripture for what was said in any thing; that He was deceived in him if He thought him to be an unlettered man, or one of those that cared not for the Scriptures, for he had here brought them along with him, and could turn Him to the place, and quote Him chapter and verse too for what he said, 'For it is written, He shall give His Angels charge over Thee,' &c.

And all these, good words and godly; but when they come out of a hypocrite's mouth, or a devil's mouth, let them be what words they will, they are but wind.

It is not this bragging age, nor this vainglorious generation, that they can quote Scripture so fast, which will carry it away, for we see the devil reads the Scriptures as well as we, and he can allege ye Samuel's own words, insomuch that 1 Sam. 28. 11, 14, &c.

SERM. V. they shall not know him from Samuel; and as for David's Psalms and ye ask him for them, why he can sing them all by heart, or else he has them ready with him in his hands; and Christ he knows, and Paul he knows, he tells them so Acts19.15. in the Acts; he was well acquainted with them, that is to say, that there was neither Christ in His Gospel, nor St. Paul in his Epistles, but he knew them very well and could tell what they had preached, and what they had written too; and yet for all this knowledge in the Scripture he was no better than a hypocrite and a devil still.

Not that we would patronise any ignorance in this kind, or discourage them that are studious to know the Scriptures; but that we would not have them rest there, to think if they had got that, they had got all, or to use them for a colour to make the world think they are such goodly professors, when there is no such matter, to play the hypocrites with them, or bring them forth to hold argument against Christ, or against His Church, as you know there are, that so use them; for this is the devil's way; we see he can quote Scripture after this manner. And be this said for the first point, 'It is written.'

II. Second, Now what is written? 'He shall give His Angels charge over Thee,' &c. A place of the greatest comfort, and the fittest to make a man presume, that he could have picked out; and this is the second thing.

It is his subtilty not to choose every Psalm, but one that should have most comfort, and most grace in it of any other; the ninety-first Psalm, than which there is not one fuller of fair promises, whether we regard things for this life, or for the life to come. And of this Psalm he takes not every verse, but takes that which is of as much mercy and grace as any one thing can be, that of the protection of Angels.

For mark you, what mercies and what promises there are, and ever have been, in this protection. There shall be Angels ascending and descending to take care of us as we lay, as in Gen.28.12. Jacob's ladder. The Angel of the Lord shall go before us, Ex. 14. 19. as he did before the Israelites; they shall kill up our enemies, 2Kings19. round about us, as they did the Egyptians and other nations; 35; Isa.37. they shall stretch their wings over us to preserve us, they 36; 1Mac. shall pitch their tents about our dwellings to defend us, and 7. 41. Jer. 6. 3.

their protection shall not reach to our heads only, but our very feet shall be safe, and in their hands they shall bear them up, that they shall not trip against a stone; they will not warn us only, that there is a stone in the way, but they will (as Christ said they should) remove and gather them out of the way for us; and last of all, that they shall not do all this out of courtesy, or because they are lovers of mankind, nor shall not at their pleasure leave off when they list, but by special mandate and charge they are and shall be bound to do it, they have a precept for it.

All these goodly and gracious promises are comprehended in this charge and protection of the Angels; and all these doth the devil here abuse, as we shall see anon.

In the mean while, this is not the only place of mercy that the devil has got by heart. He came to Christ here, with a Psalm of mercy, how comes he to us? Marry, with a Psalm of mercy too, and he will make it out of the New Testament the rather, because we live not under the Old Law. He will turn Gospeller too; any thing to bring his ends to pass. His Psalm shall begin *Quicumque crediderit, salvabitur,* out of St. Mark, Whosoever will be saved he must believe rightly, and that is enough. The next verse shall be out of St. Matthew, Cast your care upon God, for He careth for you, and then you may cast yourselves where you list. Another verse out of St. Paul, You are justified by faith, and Christ hath set you free from the law, come no more under bondage. And it is not I that make up this Psalm, or pick out these places for him; look abroad into the world and see whether he hath taught a great company of silly men to sing it, whether their mouths be not readier for these sayings than for any else. Aye, aye, ye may talk of works, that is a popish argument, but let a man believe faithfully, and he shall be justified well enough; we are the free-born sons of God, and therefore ye shall put no yoke upon us, for they whom Christ hath set free are free indeed. Free from what? from good works and obedience to Christ's law? No; but from sin and the slavery of Satan. So the words in themselves are indeed the most comfortable sayings that a Christian can hear, and most excellent use there is that may be made of them; but when the devil and a hypocrite get

Mark 16. 16.

Mat. 6. 31, 34.

Rom. 3. 28; 7. 3.

SERM. V.

them into their mouths there is no listening after them, they are temptations and snares unto men; and what should have been unto them for their advantage, may quickly become unto them an occasion of falling, that is, as it is here in the text, of falling down headlong into sin. And be this said for the second point; that of all other Scriptures, these which should have the best use made of them, he and his disciples, they that learn it of him, (for they can learn it of nobody else,) make the worst.

Now out of these two we have this use to make, that to be cunning in Scriptures is no such mark of the child of God as some men would bear us in hand[1] withal; and that, though the devil hath indeed a grace with them that are profane, with some vain youths of the court, ungodly men, to set them a-scoffing at the Scriptures, and to believe nothing, yet with others that have the Scriptures in more high reverence, he goes another way to work, making it unto them (without great heed and care taken) not as it is, in itself, the savour of life unto life, but the savour of death unto death; which God in His mercy keep from us all. So I come to the third point.

[1] persuade

2Cor.2.16.

III. Third, And the third is the fraud and the falsehood that here the devil uses in his quotation: to leave out the chief matter of all, the matter that made against him, and the matter, indeed, whereon all the Angels' charge is grounded. The Psalm runs, 'He shall give His Angels charge over Thee, to keep Thee in all Thy ways;' and the devil makes it run, He shall give His Angels charge over Thee, whether Thou keep Thy ways or no; leaves that quite out, that keeping of the ways, for the truth is, it would have spoiled his whole temptation. That if any one should take offence and scandal now by this, that he hears the devil quote Scripture as well as Christ, and therefore that nobody knows well what to make of them, and in his blasphemy say they are divided, and that one Scripture is on Christ's side, and another on the devil's side, and so makes one of Paul, and another of Apollos, and another of Cephas, and another of any thing; if any man, I say, shall thus be scandalized by the devil's bringing in of Scripture for himself, here is his answer for him, that it is not Scripture and Scripture, but Scripture and perverted Scripture, that it seems to be divided.

1 Cor.1.12.

By any means let not such a thought enter into us, that were a worse mischief than the other; for as it is a snare to see the devil so ready with Scripture, so it is a worse snare to think that Christ is any way divided, and to set the Scriptures together by the ears. We must know that here the tempter played the devil right, in leaving out that which would have made all even, that they might keep Him in all His ways; and had he but quoted that, the Scriptures would have agreed well enough, all had been for Christ, and no offence need to have been taken at them.

But so it is, the devil leaves it out; and so true it is withal, that as he has a rack for some places of Scripture to stretch them out upon the tenters, till they crack again, as it is said of St. Paul's Epistles; so here he has his wrest for other places, to pull them in, a device that the musician has to make the string sound high or low at his pleasure. He can add as he sees cause, and he can take away from the word of God, contrary to God's own and express command. Rev. 22. 18, 19; Deut. 4. 12. 32.

Now let us see what cause he had to leave those words out. Marry, great cause, to bring his own ends about, for by this means he would persuade us that the Angels here had an absolute charge over us, without any limitation at all, and that they must take care of us, take we what way we please, cast ourselves down headlong, or any way; no matter for keeping those ways that God has set us in, to walk uprightly in them; but keep them, or not keep them, the Angels shall keep us however. And this was the height of his temptation, and the true reason why he left out those words.

For had he cited them, 'to keep Thee in all Thy ways,' a man would have thought there had been some ways to keep, and not to take a strange headlong way, and throw himself from the pinnacle. Certain it is that God has made a way down, and if we keep us not to that, the Angels are discharged of their office from keeping us, and they will look no more after us. The way from the pinnacle was to go down the ordinary way by the stairs, that God had appointed to be made for that purpose; and not to leap over the battlements at once, and dash a man's head against the stones, in hope that the Angels will hold him up. Shew me where God ever appointed any such way. This is all in a parable

SERM. V. yet; the meaning is, that God has appointed ordinary means for us to stand and preserve ourselves in the ways of His commandments; and He will not have His providence tempted by our wilful falling into sin and danger; if we will keep us in His ways, so it is; if not, He is not bound to keep us in ours. We light upon a fit time for one thing; the time of God's heavy hand upon this kingdom by plague and pestilence, and well it is for them that are troubled with it, to cast themselves upon God, and to put their whole trust in His mercy, using notwithstanding those means which He has appointed, and to be as resolute in a godly courage as Job was in the like case, that though God would kill him, Job 13. 15. yet he would trust in Him. But for them now that are not in this danger, not cast into it by God, to cast themselves into it, to run, as the humour is among some, upon the naked point of so devouring a sword, and to use no means to avoid it, but to set up their rest upon a wild conceit of predestination, that God will work His work, and that men do not well to be so scrupulous, but if they be appointed to it they shall have it, and if they have a strong faith (as they say) perhaps they shall never have it,—this is a mere madness, a tempting of God, and a presuming upon His providence, without any warrant but that which the devil signs.

And so in other things throughout a whole Christian man's life, it is the like case, God will not be grated upon and overleaped with presumption; He will have us use those means and ways that He has set us, or else He will not be troubled with us, to acknowledge us and keep us for His own.

In Genesis there is a ladder set from earth to heaven, and here are degrees and stairs made from the pinnacle to the ground; there the Angels were ascending and descending with us, as here they are to take charge over us, but yet upon this condition, that we will keep God's way with them, go up and down by the degrees of the ladder, and use those means that God has appointed for us, or else they are gone.

Now here are we gone too, for we would be kept, but we would be kept in our own ways, nay we would be kept in the way to heaven too, but then we would willingly have it

[a] See note at p. 70.

somewhat broader than it is, that we and our sins might go along together. God's way is somewhat tedious and troublesome with us, and since it is but one leap from the pinnacle to the ground, we had rather venture for that than be put to go about by so many degrees and stairs; and if any man tells us that this is a preposterous way and a wrong course, and labours to turn us out of it into a right, we are ready to draw upon him, and threaten fire and sword; for we will have our own path, and we will not be kept out of it.

It is an old way I confess, as old as Adam in Paradise, but a great while it lay hid, and at last a little new divinity found it out again, and (by the devil's device) laid it open for men's easier passage. St. Paul tells us that of old there were many degrees in Christianity, preaching, hearing, believing, invocating, all in order, and so foreknowing, predestinating, calling, justifying, sanctifying, and at last glorifying, all in order too. Now our new masters would teach us a shorter cut and make but one degree in all Christianity, as if there were but one step from the ground to the pinnacle. They teach a man to take his raise[1] from predestination, and to give a jump into glorification without any more ado; no matter for mortification, or justification, or sanctification; they be no degrees with them; they must not be put to go up and down the stairs like other men, for they have a by-way of solitary faith by themselves, that has but one stride in it, and you are presently in heaven, or where you would be. And as the devil brought Scripture here for his way, so do they for theirs; for they have the Scriptures at will, they say they have it from St. Paul, that he who is once predestinated is sure enough for ever; let him go and throw himself which way he will, he cannot fall, or if he does, the stones shall never hurt him; if he be the son of God once, the Angels must have absolute charge to keep him, for God's children are such darlings, and He doth so dote upon them, that though they commit never so many downfal mortal sins, yet they shall be in grace and favour, in the state of grace still; He will not suffer them in any wise to take the least hurt that may be. And now let all the world judge whether this new, be not the devil's old divinity.

1 Cor. 12. 4, &c.

Rom. 8. 29, 30.

[1] race

They tell us of a ladder of faith that has but one step in

SERM. V.

2 Pet. 1. 5.

it, and they say it is St. Paul's, but an they remember, there is a ladder of practice too, that has a great many more in it, and we say it is St. Peter's, beginning where St. Paul's left, join to your faith virtue, and to your virtue knowledge, and to your knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience piety, and to piety brotherly love, &c. There is a way for you now, from the ground to the pinnacle, and from earth to heaven, the way that the Angels will keep us in; and if we keep not in this way, we must keep ourselves, and God knows that will be but a sorry keeping; for the Angels have no charge over us, save only to keep us in all His ways. And be this much said for the third point.

IV. Now the perverting of all (which is the fourth and last thing) and the turning of the sense of David another way, is plain already and evident by that which hath been said before; we will say a little more on it yet. In his first temptation, he would have had stones turned into bread, but he himself here turns bread into stones, the bread of life, which is the word of God, to be our bane and utter undoing.

For it is not therefore said, He shall give His Angels charge over us, that in confidence of their protection we should grate upon God's providence, and put both Him and His Angels to base offices, to take us up as oft as we list to fall down. The devil would make us believe, by his sense, that if we be the sons of God, run into what needless danger we will, He will never forsake us: the sense of the Psalm only is, that using the means which He has appointed, we shall run into no such danger but He will deliver us from it; from such dangers as cannot be prevented by man's care and industry, the Angels shall protect us, but otherwise not.

Dan. 6. 22.

And therefore when Daniel is bound hand and foot and thrown into the lions' den, a danger that he was not guilty of, then indeed it is a time for an Angel to take charge over him, and to see that no hurt should betide him. When

Gen. 21. 17.

Hagar and Ishmael are ready to die for drink, then the Angel's time is come to help them. So when there is no way

Ex. 14. 21.

to pass, then will God divide the Red sea; and when no bread is to be had for love nor money, then they shall have

Ps. 78. 25.

Angels' food from heaven. And so if there had been no ladder nor no stairs down the pinnacle, then we confess it

had been a fit time to have been carried down upon Angels' wings.

But this is at a dead lift[1], as we say, and when there is no other means, nor help left but this; for otherwise let the stairs and the ordinary way be used, a God's name, what should we do to cast ourselves away upon God's extraordinary providence? We read in the twentieth chapter of Numbers, that in a place where no water was to be had, there God would bring it out of a rock; but in the twenty-first chapter, that where there was water, there every one was to go to his digging, the princes of the people and all. And in the Gospel, when the multitudes were ready to perish for hunger, and in a place where no meat was to be had, that then it was a time for Christ to work a miracle; but afterwards, when there was a town nigh, that He took the ordinary way, and sent thither to buy bread; that we may see when God appoints a means, we must use it; and when there is no means left, and our own endeavours will not help us, *Deus providebit de monte,* His providence and His Angels shall be over us.

[1] an extremity.

ver. 8.

ver. 18.

Mat. 14. 15; 15. 32.

Joh. 4. 8.

Now this is other manner of divinity fetched out of this Psalm than the devil would have fetched out of it; for by a trick of concealment, he would have all this passed over, and the words taken as he delivers them; as if we were to look for a miraculous providence to keep us, go we which way we would. A rule to make us take heed of quoting or believing the bare words of Scripture, unless we have the true sense of it withal.

And be this much said also for the fourth point; we propounded so many at first, and this was the last.

There are other things in the text too, that would have somewhat said to them; as, what is meant by the Angels' hands, and what by Christ's foot, and what by the stones, and whether every man hath his Angel-keeper or no, to look to him and protect him. But these things belong not so properly to this place as to David's Psalms, where the Prophet's whole intent is to tell us what safety and sure protection is provided for him that lives a godly life; but here the devil's intent is to tell us, or to make us believe at least, what protection and safety is provided for him that lives an

SERM. V. ungodly life; and he regards not the circumstance so much in particular, as the whole scope of the Psalm in general, to pervert that; and therefore we are to keep us to this, and not to deal with them here in this place.

So we have seen at large the cost which the devil bestowed here upon this temptation of our Saviour. And what is this to us now? for he shall never have us up to a pinnacle, by the grace of God we will keep ourselves upon the ground, and never venture so high for a downfal. Literally we will do so; but spiritually, there we are on the top with him every day; and as he tempted Christ, so he talks with us out of a Psalm of mercy still, making us believe (for if he did
Lu. 23. 31. this to a green tree, what will he not do to a dry?) that if we be exalted in our minds, and have a will to leap into a sin, we need make no more ado about it, for God is merciful, and all will be well enough in the end; that to take God's troublesome way is too long and tedious; that a jump, or a cast over all is a nearer and a pleasanter way by half; and if we fear any hurt, why God is our loving Father, and He hath given His Angels charge over us, that if it be a sin we fall into, they will take us out again time enough.

I say no more, than what you see every day done yourselves, when men of all sorts are persuaded to follow the devil up one step of sin, and then another step, and yet another, and still more till insensibly they come at the top; and when they are there they must not go down the stairs again, according to God's appointment, fair and softly, with fear and trembling, to work out their salvation as St. Paul speaks; but walk on still, in the high ways of wickedness, and, in hope of God's long-suffering, defer all till their dying hour comes, and then, that it shall be enough to commend their souls to the Angels and throw themselves upon God's mercy, and all will be well. So says the devil; Do so, tarry there still, and never repent you for the matter; when you begin to fall, ye shall but whistle for an Angel and he will come at first, and carry you fair and softly upon his wings; or else he will bring a fiery chariot with him, and
2 Kings 2. 1, 11. carry you up to heaven in a whirlwind, as he did Elias; and he will carry you up with a Psalm too, ye shall have music as ye go all the way up ye shall have a Psalm of mercy

sung, and what charge God hath given His Angels over you.

Now if ever the devil came in this likeness, he comes so here, like an hypocritical pure devil, to tell us of the abundance of mercy, for no other end but to plunge us into the depth of misery. For to conclude all, (and it is a strange thing I shall conclude withal,) the Psalms of mercy are deadly Psalms, not so in themselves, but made so by the devil's gloss; and therefore there is no meddling with them, as precious as they be otherwise, when we have no other interpreter by but him and his disciples. True it is that God's mercy is over all His works, and that His mercy endureth for ever; and that He will deal with us according to the multitude of His mercies. But these sayings must not go alone, there are other sayings to be put into our Psalter, as well as they; and therefore we say in our prayers, that in all our troubles and adversities we may put our whole trust and confidence in His mercy (not leaving there, but going on), and truly serving Him in holiness and pureness of living, to the honour and glory of His name. And therefore there is mercy with Thee, saith the Prophet; for what? that Thou mayest be abused and grated on? no, but that Thou mayest be feared; and blessed are they that fear Thee, and put their trust in Thy mercy. When they go both together, God's mercy and our endeavours, they go right; for David's Psalms will sing of mercy and judgment, and we must look that not mercy alone, but mercy and truth must meet together in us; that if our Psalm-book sounds of nothing but mercy, and of the charge of Angels, we may know who put it into our hands. But if the truth be in us, we shall have mercy shewed upon us; and if we keep God's way in righteousness and holiness, we shall have God's Angels to keep us, to keep us in all His ways, till righteousness and peace kiss each other, which will be in His eternal kingdom of peace. To which kingdom He bring us, &c.

Ps. 145. 9.
Ps. 106. 1, &c.
Ps. 51. 1.
Ps. 130. 4.
Ps. 2. 12.
Ps. 101. 1.
Ps. 85. 10.
Ps. 85. 10.

A SERMON

AT THE

CONSECRATION OF DR. FRANCIS WHITE[a],

BISHOP OF CARLISLE,

CONSECRATED BY THE BISHOP OF

DURHAM, DR. NEILE[b];
ROCHESTER, DR. BUCKERIDGE[c];
ST. DAVID'S, DR. FIELD[d];
LLANDAFF, DR. MURRAY[e];

BEFORE

THE COUNTESS OF DENBIGH[f],

MR. ENDYMION PORTER, OF THE KING'S BEDCHAMBER[g],

MANY DEANS AND DOCTORS,

WITH FIVE HUNDRED PERSONS BESIDE.

THE SERVICE EXECUTED BY JOHN COSIN, ARCHDEACON OF THE EAST RIDING IN YORK, THE SERMON BY HIM PREACHED.

THE HYMNS AND PSALMS SUNG SOLEMNLY BY THE CHOICE OF THE KING'S QUIRE, WITH THOSE OF ST. PAUL AND WESTMINSTER.

THE COMMUNION SERVICE, AND THE CONSECRATION, EXECUTED BY THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

THE EPISTLE READ } IN THE KING'S COPES { BY JOHN COSIN, } ARCHDEACONS OF YORK.
THE GOSPEL READ } { BY H. WICKHAM,[h] }

THE OFFERTORY SOLEMNLY MADE BY MORE THAN TWENTY PERSONS, BISHOPS, DOCTORS, AND OTHER DIVINES OF NOTE.

[a] [In January 1628-9, he was translated to Norwich, vacant by the promotion of Samuel Harsnet to York, and in Dec. 8, 1631, he was removed to Ely, where he died in February, 1638.]

[b] [Of Bishop Neile, Cosin's early friend and patron, a more minute account is given elsewhere.]

[c] [Dr. John Buckridge elected Bishop of Rochester, Dec. 29, 1610, was translated to Ely in 1628. He died May 23, 1631, and on the 31st of the same month he was buried in the parish church of Bromley in Kent.]

[d] [Theophilus Field, Bishop of Llandaff, was elected to the see of St. David's on the translation of Laud to the see of Bath and Wells in 1626. In 1635 he was translated to Hereford, where he died June 2, 1636.]

[e] [Dr. William Murray, Bishop of Fenabore (?) in Ireland, succeeded to this bishopric on the removal of Dr. Field to the see of St. David's.]

[f] [Mary, daughter of Sir George Villiers of Brokesby, and sister to George Villiers Duke of Buckingham; see Collins' Peerage, ii. 252. ed. 1756, and Dugdale's Baronage, ii. 441.]

[g] [He accompanied Charles in his excursion to Spain. Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 97.]

[h] [Henry Wickham, Archdeacon of the West Riding of York, was collated March 20, 1623-4. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 323.]

SERMON VI.[a]

DOMINICA PRIMA ADVENTUS, DECEMBRIS 3, 1626, AT THE CONSECRATION OF THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE IN DURHAM HOUSE CHAPEL, IN LONDON.

Our help standeth in the name of the Lord.

ST. JOHN XX. 21, 22.

..... Peace be unto you. As My Father sent Me, even so send I you.
And when He had spoken these words, He breathed on them and said, Receive the Holy Ghost;
Whose sins you do remit they are remitted, &c.

[*..... Peace be unto you: as My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.*
And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.
Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained.]

WE are here this day about the consecration of a reverend Father, and St. Paul tells us in one place that we are about a good work; in another, that we are about an honourable work; St. John in this place, that we are about Christ's own work. Which work is the solemn deriving of a sacred and ghostly power upon the persons of the holy Apostles, for the use and benefit of Christ's Church ever after. We call it the Power of the Keys, and those keys, which, over and besides them that are committed to the custody of a priest in his

1 Tim. 3. 1.
1 Tim. 5. 17.

[a] [This is the only sermon to which Cosin has given notes and references to passages of Scripture. The additions made by the editor are inclosed within brackets.]

SERM. VI. ordination, to bind a sinful and to loose a penitent soul, are here given over, once for all, into the hands of bishops; the key of order to send as Christ sent, and the key of jurisdiction to govern as He governed. A power that till this time Christ had kept, it seems, in His own hands, never parted with it till now; promised it before, I will give you the keys[b], but gave them not till now; made His will before, but sealed it not till now; gave them many a very fair legacy, *jus ad rem*, as we say, when He chose them to be Apostles at first, but gave them not livery and seisin yet, not *jus in re*, He put them not into possession till now. And now He did it, we have His hand and His seal for it; His own words first, which He spake here, As My Father sent Me, so send I you, (I trust we will believe Him,) and then His own Spirit, *in Quo signati estis*, saith St. Paul, to make His word good and to seal up His saying, 'Receive the Holy Ghost.'

Mat. 16. 19.

Eph. 4. 30.

That if any the new Pharisees of our time, the elders of the people, shall put the question to us, as they did to Christ, and ask us, 'By what authority do ye these things? or who gave you this authority?' we will also ask them a question, and let them answer us. This same *sic* and *sicut* here, can they spell it? Can they tell what *as* and *so* means? if they can, let them answer themselves.

Mat. 21. 23.

For we say, with the consent of all, that this is the original privy-warrant of ordering and of sending bishops into the Church, that here it is first found, and here founded first too; that to this very place we reduce the whole practice of the Church for these fifteen hundred years and upwards, the practice of the holy Apostles themselves, so often mentioned in Scripture, a man would think, of purpose to let us know how they understood this place; that of the Acts, *super quem posuit vos episcopos*, 'over which the Holy Ghost has made you bishops,' and, 'his bishopric let another man take,' and again, that of St. Paul to Timothy, 'Stir up the gift that is in thee, by the imposition of my hands,' and again, 'lay hands suddenly on no man,' that to Titus, 'for this cause have I set thee, that thou shouldest ordain priests;' all to this head. For do but ask them what text they had for

Acts 20. 28.

Acts 1. 20.

2 Tim. 1. 6.

1 Tim. 5. 22.

Tit. 1. 5.

[b] ['Jus ad rem,' right to a thing before possession; 'jus in re,' right in a thing after possession. See Andrewes' Sermons, vol. iii. p. 108.]

saying as they did, and hither will they come. Our Saviour's *sicut* must be theirs too, this their warrant, and no other.

To entreat of it then. The heads are divers. And now I am about to divide the text, St. Paul puts a word into my mouth, that will help us to order it and to divide it aright. He says that he and his fellow Apostles had a commission to be ambassadors for Christ; and under the notion we can best tell what to make of this text, for here was their commission and their embassage drawn up for them at large. 2Cor.5.20.

Ambassadors are men commonly that must have some special quality in them above other people; their treaties are ordinarily for concord, and therefore above all other things they should be peaceable men.

The quality and disposition, then, which Christ requires here in ambassadors to be our first part, and this out of the first words of the text, 'Peace be unto you,' set there, as it seems, as a preparative to their mission, and a condition requisite before they could be sent; for whatsoever other ambassadors be, Christ's must be sure to be peaceable men.

(2.) Our second point to be their mission, *Mitto vos*, 'I send you.' For be it that men are never so fitly and so ably disposed, yet unless they be sent, and have letters of credence with them, they can be no ambassadors; step up of their own head and run they may not, but expect a mission.

(3.) A mission these had, and a commission too, that to be our third part; the nature and authority of their mission, which the *sicut* and the *sic* here gives us, such another as Christ had from His Father, 'as My Father sent Me.' These three in the first verse.

In the next, (4.) the enabling of them to perform and execute their commission; in other commissions it goes by putting to the seal, in this also by putting upon them the seal of the Holy Ghost, and this to be our fourth point, 'Receive the Holy Ghost.'

(5.) Which was given here, as most an end such great commissions are, with a ceremony; the ceremony used was a blast of Christ's breath, 'He breathed upon them, and said, Receive;' that to be another, a fifth point. The last being but one part of His great commission, a power of the Holy Ghost to remit and retain sins, which in one sense is communicable

SERM. VI. to Priests, but in another is *casus reservatus*, kept proper and peculiar to Bishops only. These are the parts; you see they depend all upon the Holy Ghost, which is the earnest and the seal of all.

Now, because there is no speaking, nor hearing neither, of Him without His assistance, no discoursing of His gift of the Spirit without the Spirit itself, I shall therefore desire you that we may call upon God the Father, in the name and mediation of God the Son, for the aid and help of God the Holy Ghost, and that with meek heart, &c.

THE BIDDING OF THE COMMON PRAYERS OF THE CHURCH.

Pater noster Qui es in cœlis, &c.

(I.) We begin as the text begins, and as Christ began once
Lu. 24.36. before this, with the preparative to their mission, 'Peace be unto you,' which I know well by many frigid and common[c] expositors is taken for no more than an ordinary salutation among the Jews; by the best and more ancient[d] for a higher and deep mystery, as being well assured that Christ came not here among His Apostles a-visiting only, to spend away His time by seeing how they did, and so bid them good morrow; but that His coming was for greater matters, to leave that peace first which He had so lately purchased betwixt God and man among men themselves, and then to leave that power which God had bestowed upon Him for the benefit of His Church for ever.

Before He puts the Apostles then, into any other commission, He puts them first here into the commission of peace. Before He gives them the Spirit of peace, He will have order taken that they be peaceably given first, and when they are so fitted for Him they shall receive Him. Thus was way made for the gift of the Spirit then; and look, as His former gift was, so will His after-gift be too; as He was given here,
Eph. 4. 3. so He must and will be given still; the Spirit of unity to

[c] [Erasmus and other commentators who advocated this 'frigid' interpretation, are enumerated and refuted in a dissertation printed in 1758, by C. G. F. Walch, which is quoted by Köecher in his Analecta in Quatuor Evangelia, p. 1282.]

[d] [Various passages to this purpose are collected from the writings of the Greek Fathers by Suicer in his Thesaur. i. 1032.]

them that keep the unity of the Spirit, and the Author of Peace to them that are maintainers of the bond of peace. For otherwise the ordination that some men get among us, it is somewhat inordinate, and well may they get an impression of the Spirit, a free grace, as we say, to do others good; but spirit get they none nor grace to do themselves any. It is the care and wisdom of our Church, therefore, and so it has been in all antiquity, before any man be ordained a priest, or consecrated a bishop, to put this question to him, 'Will you maintain quietness and peace among all Christian people[e]?' As much to say as, unless you promise this, you can have no Holy Ghost here, see an ye can get Him among them that are enemies to peace; for with us, the bishop is to give Him upon this condition, or otherwise to suspend his office. That they now who cry us up 'No peace,' and 'No moderation,' that curse the peacemakers and bless them that keep the rents of the Church from being made up[f], I wonder where they had their orders, or of whose sending they were. For Christ and His Church are for peaceably-minded men; His Spirit for men of a calmer temper. For such unquiet messengers and such unpeaceable people we may sing, 'Come, Holy Spirit[g],' long enough; sing it and say it too, as they use to do before every sermon[h], and yet the Holy Spirit come down ne'er a whit the faster. The reason is, they are not reasonable men; they are fomenting the factions on both sides, and they hate the very name of peace on all sides; whereas His coming must ever be, as here it was, to them that are studious of peace and lovers of concord. And now who should look to this peace more than they that are consecrated for it? whose office it is to mark and to rebuke them that sow dissensions among us, to practise as the Church prays, and to do their utmost endeavours that all Christians may agree in the truth of God's holy Word, and live in unity and godly love. In so doing what thanks they shall have here, as this world goes now, I cannot tell; but high shall their reward be in

Rom. 16. 17.

[e] Ordination Service, [question proposed by the bishop in the 'Ordering of Priests.']

[f] [See Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, book xi. § 31. p. 393.]

[g] Part of the Ordination Service.

[h] [This custom appears to have crept into the Church. In a copy of the Prayer-Book printed in 1728, is a metrical version of this Hymn, which is directed to be sung before sermon.]

SERM. VI. heaven, and their honour great among the Saints, that here love and labour for the peace of Christ's Church[i]. And so I proceed.

(II.) Having for our next point an orderly proceeding here, that they stepped not up of their own heads and bishoped themselves, but had One to put them into office, were sent, and had a mission; for there are that run, and I sent them
Jer. 23.32. not, saith God in Jeremiah; a sort[k] of forward men that are crept into office, nobody knows how, and so overweening of their own worth that the Church shall never need to trouble herself for the matter, to call them, or to send them, for they are upon their journey long ago; they sent themselves, and can preach, order, rule and govern, or do any thing ye will have them do, better than all the mitred bishops with their Letters Missive[l] in their hands, and better than all the priests, scribes, and pharisees in the world besides. Was it thus of old, trow? might men run God's errands before they had their errand given them, or could well tell what to say? might they shuffle themselves into the High-Priest's office, be meddling with mysteries before they could well tell how to
Ex. 25. 38. use the very snuffers of the Temple? nor this, nor that? *Ad*
2Cor. 2. 16. *hæc quis idoneus*, then? and *Mitte quem missurus es*, but here
Ex. 4. 13. John 1. 6. was a mission howsoever. 'There was a man sent from God,' saith St. John the Evangelist of St. John the Baptist; he came not of his own authority; *et ordinaverunt seipsos in ministerium sanctum*, is such a solecism in divinity, that I suspect the Latin in the vulgar translation of St. Paul, as I do their honesty that gulled the too-credulous Papists with a tale, and falsely here accused us, in the beginning of the late Queen's reign, that our bishops had then no lawful succession, no orderly consecration, but laid one another's hands upon their heads, and so made themselves bishops; not, 'I send you,' or 'The Holy Ghost sends you,' but 'Let us rise up from table and send one another,' which the Public Records of those times[m] can tell us, and this day's solemnity

[i] [See Andrewes' Sermons, iii. 113.]

[k] ['A sort,' i. e. a company; see the fifth sense of the word in Johnson.]

[l] [Letters Missive sent by the King to the Dean and Chapter of a Cathedral Church directing them to fill up the vacant See; Gibson's Codex, i. 109.]

[m] In the archbishop's registry. [See Courayer's Defence of English Ordinations, i. 29; Bramhall's Works, p. 1051. Burnet's Hist. Reform., Appendix i. 363.]

shall tell us again, is as true as if the father of lies had said it and sent it into the world; or as true as another report they have, in print too[n], that we bound their bishops and priests to mangers, and fed them with hay like horses. But there let them stand and devise such mischievous fables of a Church which deserves them not; which ever held firm (and we are able to make it good) in a continued line of succession from former known bishops, and so from this very mission of the Apostles.

I had now done with their sending if I had once told you of Whose sending they were, and of Whom they held their authority. It was of Christ. He sent them, and He had power enough; all power in heaven and in earth was given Him. Of Him they held it, and of Him we hold it ever since. The bishop imposes hands, but God gives the grace, saith St. Ambrose[o], of Whom we depend immediately for the power of our orders, and are subordinate to no power besides. I speak not of the execution, which I know bishops may suspend; but of the power of order itself, which none can take away when it is once given. Neither did any bishop ever challenge more, acknowledging themselves but ministers of Christ's power, unless it were he that came, not (it seems) to minister, but to monarch it over the world, and he[p] forsooth, will have us hold of him, that unless he sends us, all the power that Christ and His Apostles had, will do us no good. Without his licence we are neither bishops nor priests; and whereas other bishops are content to be masters of the ceremonies only, he must be master of the substance too. For ye must know that Christ had but all power in heaven and in earth. Make we a 'but' of it? Yes, there was a fellow who preached it before the Council of Lateran[q] for good Catholic-Roman doctrine, that the Pope had more; that he had a power above all power in heaven and in earth; and therefore he to do with order, and power, and jurisdic-

Mat. 28. 18.

Mat. 20. 28.

[n] [See Parsons' Three Conversions, i. 252. edit. 1604.]

[o] Ambr. de Dign. Sac. c. 5. [Sed tamen per hominem dat Deus; homo imponit manus, Deus largitur gratiam; sacerdos imponit supplicem dexteram, et Deus benedicit potenti dextera; episcopus initiat ordinem, et Deus tribuit dignitatem. Opp. S. Ambros. Append. ad tom. ii. col. 363. This treatise is improperly ascribed to St. Ambrose.]

[p] [See Ant. De Dominis, Rep. Eccl. ii. v. § 13, 14, 15.]

[q] Bin., tom. iv. p. 654. [See Jewell's Works, P. i. p. 365. edit. 1609.]

SERM. VI.

tion, and Church too, what he list himself; the main quarrel (though God knows, a very unjust quarrel) betwixt him and us at this day; and no peace must be had unless we will hold all of him. But then must we go mend our text here; for if so, Christ was properly to have said, not, I send you all, but, I send St. Peter, and let him send the rest[r]. Enough to let you see the vanity of his claim and the iniquity of his quarrel. Let the world judge then, where the schism lies; for we have our mission from Christ as well as he. And so from the mission and the nature of it I will come to their commission and the nature of it; for every one that is sent, is not sent with a like commission, which is our third point.

(III.) The Apostles then were sent, as all other bishops and priests are. What commission have they with them? For at large they are not sent, either to teach and to govern as they list themselves, but they have a *sicut* and a *sic* with them to keep all right. 'As My Father sent Me, so send I you.'

We demand then, How was Christ sent? And He was sent for two ends. The first, to be the Redeemer of our souls, and to reconcile God unto men, which He did by His
1 Pet. 2. 25. death; the second, to be the Bishop of our souls, and to reconcile men unto God, which He did by leaving us a Gospel, His life and doctrine, in a Church behind Him[s]. In the first sense the Apostles were not sent, they were to be no redeemers nor mediators neither. For it cost more to redeem men's souls, and both they and their successors must
Ps. 49. 8. let that *sicut* alone for ever. And yet there is a *sicut similitudinis* in it for all that, though there be no *sicut æqualitatis*, there is some likeness in their sendings this way. He, sent by His Father to be a Mediator for mankind, and to reconcile the world by His death and sacrifice upon the cross. They, sent by Him, to mediate and to pray for the people, to
2 Cor. 5. 18. be ministers of the reconciliation, as St. Paul speaks, and in a manner, to be sacrificers too, representers at the Altar here, and appliers of the Sacrifice once made for all; without which last act, the first will do us no good[t].

[r] [See Ant. de Dominis de Republica Eccles. II. v. § 3, and the references there given.]

[s] [See De Dominis, V. i. § 1. seqq.]

[t] [The difference between the mission of our Lord and that of His disciples is pointed out by De Dominis in his Repub. Eccl. I. v. § 2.]

then in the second sense more properly. And here the
ıns many ways; we will choose them only which are
.ef, and for which the Scripture is plain, Christ was of
e sent.

First then, Christ was sent to preach the Gospel to the Lu.4.[18.]
and of the same errand are His Apostles and bishops
Go ye and teach all nations.' The priests' office not Mat. 28.
;e, who preach too, but yet under the bishop's licence [19.]
they then to be the great pastors of the diocese, and we
servants and substitutes under them, to preach by
ommission and not by our own. For by virtue of our
we are only put to offer up the prayers and sacrifices
Church, to administer the Sacraments, to bind and to
and not to preach unless we be thereunto appointed,
ıe book. And indeed, so went the old canons and the [The Ordination Service.]
of the ancient Church. For canons I name the Sixth
llo[u], and the decree of [x] Damasus the pope, one whom
ome made much esteem of[y], that otherwhiles presbyters
not to preach at all, as Balsamon[z] there observes of
in Alexandria[a]. For stories I name Sozomen[b], and
horus[c], and St. Chrysostom himself[d], that was much
ed about it, and would fain have given over preaching
his second Homily upon Esay), when he saw the

ın. xix. ap. Labb. Conc. vi.

ıe following passage from the epistle of pope Damasus, to by the author, so fully ıtes the functions peculiar at ıe to the Episcopate, that it cited at length. Quod vero eis ɛat sacerdotes consecrare, nec ; aut subdiaconos, nec virgines, are erigere, nec ungere aut nec ecclesias dedicare, nec conficere, nec chrismate bapm frontes signare, nec publice in missa quemquam pœnitentem iare, nec formatas epistolas mit populum benedicere, nec ante ım in baptisterio aut in sacrario nec præsente episcopo infantem aut signare, nec pœnitentem æceptione episcopi sui reconıec eo præsente, nisi illo jubente ntum Corporis et Sanguinis conficere, nec eo coram posito n docere aut salutare, nec pleıortari; quæ omnia solis pontificibus deberi, tam ex superioribus quam ex aliis patrum constitutis, aut sacris canonibus, edocti estis. Epist. Damasi Papæ, ap. Labb. Conc. ii. 879.]

[y] [St. Jerome dedicated his book on the Prodigal Son to pope Damasus; see lib. ii. cont. Jovin. cap. 17.]

[z] [See Beveridge's Pandectæ, i. 278.]

[a] [On this peculiarity of the Church of Alexandria (which however appears to have been limited to the period when it was disturbed by the preaching of Arianism) see Bingham, II. iii. § 4. and XIV. iv. § 3.]

[b] Sozom. l. vii. c. 19. [p. 307. edit. Reading, 1720. H. Valesius in his note upon this passage attempts to throw discredit upon the statements which are advanced in it, as far as the bishops of Rome are concerned.]

[c] Niceph. l. xii. c. 34. [See the note of H. Valesius to Sozomen, vii. 19. p. 308. edit. Reading.]

[d] St. Chrysost. Hom. 2. in Isai. [vi. 111. edit. Bened.]

SERM. VI. bishop come into the church, he being then but a priest[e]. Good men; they thought priests had a deal to do besides, to say their hours, to sing their service, to visit the sick, to reconcile penitents, and not to preach so much, though they neglected not this neither: but then it was when the bishop set them a-work, when he was otherwise employed, and could not so often attend it; for there must be preaching howsoever. I would not be mistaken, I come not here to preach down preaching; but this I wonder at, that preaching now-a-days should be counted our only office, as if we had nothing else to do, and an office independent too, as if we were all bishops when we preach. But let them preach, they have licence perhaps to do it.

Then would both bishops and they be put in mind of a second *sicut* here, that we may keep us to the text.

(2.) For secondly, Christ was sent, as the Scripture many times tells us, not to preach His own will, but His Father's;

Joh. 12. [49, 50.] 'As My Father said unto Me, so I speak.' Nor were the Apostles sent to preach what they would themselves, but

Mat. 28. [20.] whatsoever Christ had commanded them; that they, which preach as voluntary as the organ plays, or the sudden motions of a spirit, as their fancy leads them that call it speaking by the Spirit when never a wise word is spoken, and they which preach us up new doctrines, or a new faith, which was never heard on since the world began afore, may go seek some other commission to make good what they do, for from Christ here have they none.

(3.) Christ was sent to preach a law, as we read in the

[Ps. 2. 7.] second Psalm; 'I will preach the law whereof the Lord spake unto Me;' and they that are sent by Him are sent to make men observe a law and to do what He hath commanded. If we love not to hear of a law, of a working and a doing religion, we must go to some other Church, for in Christ's Church men are to preach us a law, set us somewhat to do, and hold us or keep us in with a law; that they now which preach us all Gospel and put no law among it, bishops and priests that will tell the people all is well if they can but say their Catechism and hear sermons, make them believe that there is nothing to be done more but to believe and so be

[e] [See Bingh. ii. 3, 4; and xiv. 4. 2. for illustrations of this position.]

saved, these men, they preach by some other pattern sure, for Christ, He is sent not to preach down the old law so much as to preach up a new. Now to make men observe and do what the Church teaches them is, or should be, in the bishop's hands. We suffer scandal from them of the Church of Rome in many things, in nothing more than this, that we are sent to preach sermons to the people, as men that had some pretty commodities to sell them which, if they liked, they might buy and use; if not, they might let them alone; that we talk of devotion but live like the careless; that we have a service, but no servants at it; that we have churches, but keep them not like the houses of God; that we have the Sacraments, but few to frequent them; Confession, but few to practise it; finally, that we have all religious duties (for they cannot deny it), but seldom observed; all good laws and canons of the Church, but few or none kept; the people are made to do nothing; the old discipline is neglected, and men do what they list[f]. It should be otherwise, and our Church intends it otherwise; (enough to free her from slander, let them condemn them that will not obey her,) but enough to free her, and to stir up men, specially them whom it concerns, to make others active, for therefore are they sent, even as Christ also was.

(4.) And to make this take the better effect, we say, fourthly, that Christ was sent to preach by His own life, and to give an example to others, *exemplum dedi vobis*, which is the best kind of preaching, when all is done; that they which stand like idols and statues, to point out the way to others, and yet stir not themselves to lead the way, they are by this very mark known to be none of Christ's ambassadors. Joh. 13. 15.

(5.) And now I come to another *sicut; sicut oves*, saith Christ, 'Behold I send you as sheep among wolves.' As sheep among wolves? Now above all other *sicuts*, let us have none of that. For will the comparison hold here too, trow we? Yes, Christ was sent so Himself, *sicut ovis*, saith the Prophet, as a sheep to the slaughter, and *sicut agnus inter lupos*, as a lamb among the wolves. A lesson this which my lord bishop of Rome hath, it seems, long ago forgot, for he has turned the text now quite another way and made it run Mat. 10. 16. Is. 53. 7.

[f] [See Jewell's Works, p. 151. and his View of a Seditious Bull, p. 13.]

SERM. VI. backwards, *sicut lupus inter agnos*, comes he like a wolf among the sheep that is ready to devour them, and like a lion among the lambs that is greedy of his prey. Christ came not so, and the Apostles came not so. I wonder of whose sending he should be that comes after this manner.

But if the pope on the one side has forgotten how St. Peter was sent, there are the common people on the other side that will remember it well enough, how he and all the rest were sent; and they mean, it seems, to take an order for it that their successors shall never be sent otherwise, never but as sheep among wolves. Let us be sheep and they will be sure to be wolves, keen enough to prey upon the Church, and to prey upon churchmen too, leave them by their good will neither goods nor good name behind them. We know the world has studied this text well, and though they keep never a saying of Christ's besides, yet will they be sure to keep this; since Christ has said it, they will take Him at His word; we shall be sheep still, and they will be wolves. Christ told the clergy that they were the salt of the earth, and the world has taken Him; because He has said it, it shall be made good; account made of us as of salt indeed? a poor contemptible thing, salt, ye may buy enough of it for a farthing. This is their jest; but as contemptible as it is, ye can savour nothing without it, and this is our answer. But what do I pleading for account, or for any good words from the world, whenas Christ here has bidden us look for none beforehand; not but that we should have them, but because we are never like to have them. Men speak well of their clergy? No. There is a saying of His which spoiled that long ago, 'They shall speak all manner of evil against you;' and so they do. I know no saying in all the Bible studied better than this. But since Christ was willing to bear it, we must be content to endure it too. In the meanwhile we would desire all men to remember whose ambassadors they are that are thus used; assuring them that any, the least injury done to them, reflects upon Christ their Lord and Master.

[Mat. 5. 13.]

Mat. 5. 11.

(6.) Who, to make them amends for this, hath not sent them without another *sicut*, a *sicut* of honour and dignity, whereas He sent them to be the ambassadors of God and the dispensers of His sacred mysteries. This shall be the last.

In priests this to consecrate the Sacrament and to meddle with the keys; but I meddle not with them, as being not proper for the day. In bishops (*opus diei*) to send, ordain, and govern others, as He sent and governed them. For it was the High-Priest of old and not the presbytery; it is the bishop now and not the vestry-man, nor the priest neither, that hath authority to put into the priesthood, or to give any orders at all. It is the full consent of reverend antiquity to distinguish the ministers of the Gospel into[g] three degrees, answerable to the triple order under the Law, as servants to the same Trinity, the God both of Law and Gospel. There are bishops, successors to the Apostles, answerable to the High-Priest, presbyters succeeding the seventy disciples, answerable to the priests; and deacons, instituted by the Apostles, answerable to the levites. I gather then, that as the putting into the priest's office was *penes Pontificem*, in the High-Priest's power alone, so the consecration of bishops, the ordination of priests and deacons, and the putting of them into office or place within the Church, was, and is, in the authority and jurisdiction of bishops only, who are the height and the princes of the clergy, as Optatus[h] said, and said it from Ignatius[i], the oldest Father that is, and St. John's own scholar[k]. If Fathers would do it, we could bring two juries of them; but this place is clear, and St. Paul is clear, what need we any more witnesses? *Propter hanc causam*, 'for this cause,' saith St. Paul to Titus, 'have I set thee in Crete' (not any body else) 'that thou shouldest ordain presbyters.' Neither is there any one example to be found in all the stories of the Church of any holy orders that were ever given but by a bishop. I will shew you all that may be found. There was an old Arian heretic, they called him Ischyras[l], a fellow suborned by a faction to accuse Athanasius in the great Council of Nice, and he was ordained a priest indeed by Coluthus an imaginary bishop; but because it was afterwards proved that the one was no bishop,

1 Sam. 2. ult. [36.]

Tit. 1. 5.

[g] [Bingh. Orig. Eccl. ii. 20. § 1.]
[h] [Optat. p. 15. edit. Paris. 1679; see also Bingh. Orig. Eccl. ii. 2. § 4.]
[i] [Ep. ad Magnes. § 6; ad Ephes. § 2; ad Trall. § 13, &c.]
[k] [There here appears to be a slight confusion between what is recorded of Polycarp and Ignatius.]
[l] Athanas. in 2. Apolog. [i. 193. edit. fol. Par. 1698. see also Bingh. ii. 3. § 6; and Petavius de Eccles. Hierarch. II. x. §. 10.]

SERM. VI.

the Council concluded that the other was no priest, and so put them both off with contempt and scorn. This was one. There is but another example to be had, and it is out of the second Council of Seville[m], where the priest takes upon him to give orders like a bishop; you shall see what came of it. The priest dies presently, or they had met with them; and his imaginary clergy-men were by that council turned back again to their lay-brethren with shame enough.

Yet starts me up Aerius[n], and he would have bishops and priests to be all one, held for so holding as little better than mad; but ye should have given him a bishopric, saith St. Austin[o], and then the heretic would have been quiet. Forsooth bishops and priests[p] had otherwhiles been both one name; so had bishops and angels[q] too, were they therefore both one order? I may call the bishop a priest when he consecrates the Sacrament, and the priest a bishop when he looks to his charge; but what makes this to the power of ordination? *Cum de re constat, qui fit de nomine pugna?* Let the priests submit themselves then, saith St. Ignatius[r], it is none of theirs; they were not sent for this purpose.

And if not they, much less the consistory, and the verdict of the vestry, to whom they say the Spirit is lately gone, and departed from the whole Church besides. But I will not here vouchsafe to confute them, not to name them, more than
Jude 8. that they are a tumultuous faction, and despise dominions, and speak evil of dignities; and that we own them not.

To the bishops' power of ordaining then add their power
1 Cor. 11. 34. of setting Church matters in order by virtue of St. Paul's *ordinabo cetera;* their votes in council, by virtue of that in
Acts 15. [22, 23, &c.] the Acts; their power to correct, deprive, suspend, excommunicate, and stop the mouths of offenders, specially of those that speak perverse things and draw disciples after them, by
[Tit. 2. 15, &c.] virtue of the Apostle's charge to Timothy; and then you

[m] Conc. Hisp. 2. [Can. 5. Relatum est nobis de quibusdam clericis, quorum dum unus ad presbyterum, duo ad levitarum ministerium sacrarentur, episcopus oculorum dolore detentus fertur manum suam super eos tantum imposuisse, et presbyter quidem illis contra ecclesiasticum ordinem benedictionem dedisse .... Hi gradum sacerdotii vel levitici ordinis, quem perverse adepti sunt, amittunt. See further, Bingh. ii. 3. § 7.]

[n] Epiphan. Hær. 75. [§ 5. edit. Petavii. fol. Colon. p. 909.]

[o] Aug. de Hær. 53. [Opp. viii. 14.]

[p] [See Bingh. ii. 19. § 2.]

[q] [See Bingh. ii. 2. § 11.]

[r] [Epist. ad Ephes. § 4.]

have their full commission with all the *sicuts* and extents of it, drawn up at large. And now it wants nothing but the seal, which we will set to with expedition, and make an end.

It follows then, 'When He had spoken these words He breathed on them and said, Receive the Holy Ghost.'

(IV.) Where we begin with the ceremony. For here is a Spirit given, and given by another spirit, *Spiritus Sanctus per spiritum oris*, the Holy Spirit by the spirit and breath of His mouth.

No doubt but Christ (an it had pleased Him) might have given them the Spirit without any breathing upon them at all; the substance without the ceremony. And had He so done He had got some men's hearts by it for ever, which now He is like to lose; theirs, that condemn all ceremonies in religion for vanity and superstition.

Now much pity it was that these ceremony-haters of our days had not then been living and standing by, to advise and to put Christ in mind what a foundation He would lay here for superstition and popery, and how much better it had been to have made no more ado but to have come, as they use to do, with the Spirit only, and so be gone. Yet thus it was not; it was as St. John here has written it, and they cannot all tell how to help it; Christ would have a ceremony as well as the Spirit; and the truth is, He did seldom or never any great act without a ceremony.

Christ would have it, and have it He would for some good purpose sure. His purpose was to have it signify somewhat; to be no idle ceremony, but significant, as indeed all ceremonies must be[s], though for this very cause they are so much misliked, because forsooth, we make them significant; whereas if we should not make them so, they must needs be (as they would have them to be) vain and frivolous indeed. For ceremonies, take them where ye will, let them be destitute of signification and instruction, and what are they else but the idle gestures of men, whose broken wits are not masters of what they do? Themselves, have they not a ceremony to lift up the eye-lid as if they were lifting up a pound weight? and they say it is to signify the heaviness of the heart. We beseech

[s] [Hooker, E. P., v. § 65. Keble's edit. ii. 409.]

SERM. VI.

them then that they would let our ceremonies be significant too; and this for one, that Christ breathed upon His Apostles.

Significant? of what? The Fathers shall tell us[t]. St. Austin, that it signified the procession of the Holy Ghost, to be from Christ Himself the Son, as well as from God the Father. Athanasius[u], and St. Cyril[x], that it signified Christ to be Him, Who at the first breathed life into man, the Creator and the Re-creator, both one God; St. Ambrose[y], that as without the breath there is no natural life, so without the Spirit there is no heavenly; St. Basil[z], that the Spirit begins with a breath and comes on with a wind, not boisterous at first and feeble afterwards, as we use to be. All these are good. I will be bold to add a fifth, as in those cases we may, that Christ breathed upon them here to shew that otherwise they might have been soon out of breath to have run this embassage over the world; that it was not in the power of man, nor [2 Cor. 10. 4.] in the breath of his nostrils (God knows) to throw down those strong holds of the devil which they were now to encounter, but that by the Spirit of the Lord and the breath of His mouth it must be done.

Here are significations enough; but we shall stick to St. Austin's, as the Church most an end hath used to do about the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Person of God the Son; which is the reason that never after this was there any more breathing to be used by the Church, for that neither Spirit nor spiritual authority proceeds from men as lords and authors of it, but was changed to *imposita* or *admota manus,* to the lifting up or laying on of their hands, who are

[t] [Flatus ergo ille corporeus substantia Spiritus Sancti non fuit, sed demonstratio per congruam significationem non tantum a Patre sed etiam a Filio procedere Spiritum Sanctum. S. August. de Trin. ii. ap. Thom. Aquin. Cat. Aur. ad Joh. 20. 22. Insufflando significavit Spiritum Sanctum non Patris solius esse Spiritum, sed et Suum. Tract. in S. Joh. III. ii. 589. ed. Benedict.]

[u] [... καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος δὲ διδομένου εἰς ἡμᾶς, λάβετε γὰρ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἔλεγεν ὁ Σωτὴρ, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῖν ἐστιν, ... ζωοποιουμένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, ζῆν αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν ἡμῖν λέγεται. S. Athanas. i. 667, 668. edit. Paris, 1698.]

[x] [Μηδεὶς οὖν χωριζέτω τὴν παλαιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης· μηδεὶς λεγέτω ὅτι ἄλλο τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἄλλο ὧδε. S. Cyrill. Hieros. p. 244. edit. Par. 1720.]

[y] [Ergo mundus non habebat vitam æternam, quia non acceperat Spiritum, ubi autem Spiritus, ibi vita æterna. S. Ambros. de Spiritu Sancto, cap. 2. § 27. Opp. ii. 639, edit. Benedict.]

[z] [Αὐτὸ (πνεῦμα) δέ ἐστιν ἀεί, πηγὴ ὂν τῆς ἀϊδίου ζωῆς; ... προσίτω δὲ ἡσύχῳ τῇ καταστάσει. ἥσυχον δὲ αὐτῆς ἔστω, μὴ μόνον τὸ περικείμενον σῶμα, καὶ ὁ τοῦ σώματος κλύδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τὸ περιέχον. S. Basil. adv. Eunom. Opp. i. 320, 321. edit. Bened.]

but God's delegates and assigns to give men possession of His graces.

(V.) Enough of the ceremony, I come now to the substance, the Holy Ghost that was here given and received; whereof, because I said much myself here the last year, I will tell you now what another most an end has said of them, to better purpose than any else can say[a], and so make an end.

And one note we shall have from the word 'Received,' that it was not a spirit, *spiritus transiens*, but *remanens et implens*, afterwards; not a hot breath of furious zeal that blew upon their faces, and presently went off again, nor a cold breath of frozen religion that blew through them, as I know not how it does through a good many of us; but a breath and a Spirit that went into them, and tarried with them, wrought upon their very hearts and converted them, a Spirit which they received. [Andrewes Serm., vol. iii. p. 135.]

Now you will understand of yourselves that when we speak of receiving the Spirit, It is not[b] (as the complainers of our Form to the Parliament would have it) the essence or the person of the Holy Ghost that is meant; heaven and earth cannot receive That, and no power can give It: but there is meant by it certain impressions of the Holy Ghost, gifts and graces which the Spirit of God doth bestow, and whereby he that receiveth the office is warranted for ever (as Leo speaks[c]) to have the Spirit with him for his aid and support in what thing soever he shall faithfully undertake to discharge its duties.

In such sense, then, is the Holy Ghost received in our ordinations. In that of priesthood for their office, and in this of bishops for theirs too; not that both their orders are one, but that both proceed from one Spirit; now there are divers degrees of gifts, saith St. Paul, and but one Spirit. 1 Cor. 12. 4.

[a] [Reference is here made to certain passages in the Sermons of Bishop Andrewes, which are indicated above in the margin.]

[b] [See Hooker's E. P., v. 77. § 5. Keble's edit., ii. 585. and the passages there quoted in the notes.]

[c] S. Leo Serm. 1. in Annunc. [Serm. 1. in Anniv. die Assumpt. Unde etsi necessarium est trepidare de merito, religiosum est tamen gaudere de dono: quoniam qui mihi oneris est auctor, ipse fiet administrationis adjutor; et ne sub magnitudine gratiæ succumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem, qui contulit dignitatem. Bibl. Patr., tom. v. Part. ii. p. 791. edit. 1618. This passage appears to have been borrowed from Hooker's E. P., v. 77. § 8. Keble's edit. ii. 589, where it is quoted, and whence several of the remarks in the text have been derived.]

SERM. VI. But this or that, the Holy Ghost is then given them, partly to direct and strengthen them in their ways, and partly to assume unto Itself, for the more assurance and authority, those actions which belong to their place and calling. And such is the Power of the Keys.

I haste to an end. From the words I gather two things; that they received a Spirit; that they received a Holy Spirit.

[Andrewes Serm., vol. iii. p. 133.] For first, men may receive a running humour instead of a true and constant spirit. I speak now of grace making free, which the Apostles, being fitly disposed, received here, as well as free grace; and in them it was right, a true spirit, in others it may be an humour only. I wish it were not that humours were not sometimes mistaken for the Spirit, even in clergymen themselves; a fiery humour for the Spirit of zeal; a windy humour for the Spirit of purity; a running, busy, humour for the Spirit of diligence; and a thousand disorderly humours besides for the Spirit of freedom and godly courage, as they call it.

Again, as by that excellent prelate it has been observed, man may receive the Spirit, and yet not the Holy Spirit; for as there are many humours, so are there many spirits too: a private spirit, that does all by immediate revelation; a worldly spirit, that does all by human policy; a spirit of giddiness, that reels to and fro like a weathercock, blown every year to a new religion; a spirit of error that will believe lies, and a spirit of envy that will endure no peace. There is also a spirit of slumber that passes away the time without any sense of God at all. And all these are no Holy Spirits; they that follow them, follow their own ghost instead of the Holy Ghost, Which was here received, and no other.

[Andrewes Serm., vol. iii. p. 205, 206.] Now I observe, it is last of all observed that wherever this Spirit is named, there comes in a *Sanctus* with It; It is always called the Holy Spirit[d]. Why this title? why not the Spirit of power, or the Spirit of government as well, specially for Apostles and bishops? Not but that He is the Spirit of them too, but for that He delights more in this than in any other attribute whatsoever. High and Mighty, Glorious and Powerful God, be His appellations too, but Holy, Holy, Holy, is the anthem, the title, that the Cherubim and Seraphim

Gen. 14. 18; 49. 24. Ex. 15. 6. Ps. 29. 4.

[d] [See St. Athanas. Opp. i. 653.]

continually do cry, that the quire of heaven make choice of. Indeed the only title, when all is done, which leaves us a lesson (but that this unholy age is loath to be taught it), if God and His Spirit so esteem of it, that we should do so likewise, delight to have our actions holy, our words holy, our bodies holy, all our lives holy; we cannot please God better than with holiness, and without holiness we cannot please Him at all. If God be pleased to make such high account of this title, then we, wherever we find it, to do the like, that holy persons, holy places, holy times, and all things sacred and holy, may be had in regard of us; and more especially this holy place, wherein now we are, this holy feast which now we celebrate, His holy Word, which now we hear, and His holy Sacrament which we are now about to receive. Times and places are out of my way, but for persons, the person of a bishop or a priest, tell me, to which of the Angels said He at any time, 'Receive the Holy Ghost?' or, 'Whose sins thou dost remit, they are remitted?' But *manum de tabula;* it is a new and a long theme that, another hour[e] must end it.

Heb. 12. 14.

[Advent Sunday.]

Joh. 20. 22, 23.

My Lord, you see you have an honourable and an holy calling, an embassage that Christ sends you on, even as His Father sent Him. And now is the commission to be sealed, first with the Holy Ghost and then with the Holy Sacrament, which is the reason that you kneel here alone till that be past. I will not take upon me to be your instructor, but here is your pattern, peace with men and holiness with God. Of old it was written upon the bishop's mitre. Now, (as David said to Solomon,) I know you are wise, do then according to your wisdom; that when you have performed your embassy with honour here, you may reap the fruits of it in everlasting glory hereafter. To which He bring both you and us Who hath purchased the same for us.

[1 Kings 2. 6, 9.]

[e] [An allusion to the customary length of a sermon; see Bingh. XIV. iv. § 21; and the conclusion of the eighth sermon in this volume.]

SERMON VII.

AT BRANCEPATH, FIFTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY, JUNE 27, 1630.

Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

PSALM cxxii. 6, 7[a].

(A Psalm occurring in the ordinary service of the day.)

Pray for the peace of Jerusalem, they shall prosper that love thee.

Peace be within thy walls, and plenteousness within thy palaces.

SERM. VII.

WHICH is king David's devotion and piety, towards the Church and commonwealth of God. A piety that originally, I confess, and according to the letter, respects the Church of the Jews, and the house of God among them, but in a far better and a higher sense, chiefly, no doubt, and according to the substance, respects also the Church of Christ, and the house of God among us.

For howsoever this Psalm was first penned for the ark[b] of the old covenant, when with a religious solemnity it was brought up to Jerusalem, yet it was not king David's meaning, nor the meaning of the Holy Ghost neither, but it might be extended and applied to more covenants than it. His meaning was not to shut up this peace within the walls of the city only, nor to engross this plenteousness unto her palaces alone, but to have both the one and the other as

[a] A fragment of a sermon upon the same text may be seen in the Appendix.

[b] Exitat eos [Judæos] David ad gratiarum actionem, quod arca tandem stabilem sedem reperisset, et successio in regno ad certam familiam alligata esset. **Pol. Synops. ad loc.**

diffusive through his own kingdom; so, extensive (and that chiefly) to the kingdom of Christ.

And what should hinder the Psalm, but as it went from the doors of the tabernacle, for which it was first made, to the gates of the temple, where afterwards it became one of their gradual[c] songs, sung upon the third step of their ascent unto it, so it might pass also as well quite through the temple itself, and reach unto the Church of Christ, whereof the Jews' Church was but a shadow. Surely the Psalm was for both; both for Jew and Christian; and so the text for both, both for their Church and ours; and but for them originally only, to last but for a while neither; but for us intentionally and truly, to last for all ages after that, from the first coming of Christ in grace, to His second coming again in judgment. It might be our care also to pray for the peace and plenty of Christ's Church among us, as it was their care of old to pray for the peace and plenteousness of Jerusalem among them; and that they, above all others, might prosper, that love, and seek to prosper it.

I name the peace and plenty of the Church only, I should name the peace and plenty of the state also; that we are to seek, and to love, and to pray for the quiet prosperity of them both, both of the Church and kingdom wherein we live; for Jerusalem here comprehends them both, and was the seat of them both, of the house of the Lord, at the first verse, and of the house of David at the fifth.

So have we the sum of all, that for God's house and the king's, that is, for the Church and state, wherein we live, our chief endeavours be, even with prayers and love and all that is ours, to procure peace and plenty, and prosperity to them both. 'O pray for the peace of Jerusalem, let them prosper that love it.'

The text delivers itself in the terms of one that is advising and wishing for us somewhat that is most behoveful for us, if his advice might be taken; but inasmuch as we see wishing and advice to prevail so seldom, and all manner of counsel, in matters of religion especially, to be so little set by, we must find more in it than so; not wishing only, and matter of

[c] The meaning of this expression is discussed at considerable length by Lorinus Comment. in Ps. cxix. (cxx.) iii. 548. edit. 1619.

SERM. VII.

advice alone, but command also, and matter of precept withal. And that we find in the dignity of His person, that was author to us of this advice. It is *votum Davidis*, it is *votum Spiritus Sancti;* it is the advice of king David, and there is much in that, but it is the wish of the Holy Ghost too, and therein is more; ever in His optative, there is an imperative; in His wish, there never fails to be a command, never, if he has any wit that hears it. So that these words, rightly understood, 'O pray for,' or, 'Would to God ye would pray for' 'the peace of Jerusalem,' are both an advice, and an injunction withal, of the nature of an edict; we fall into the peril of contempt, and disobedience, and irreligion, if we do it not, if we do not what we are here advised unto.

And that is not one single duty neither; they are many, and they shall be so many parts of my text.

(1.) That first, our care must be for Jerusalem, the seat of God's house and the king's.

(2.) That this care must be shewn by our prayers for it.

(3.) That these prayers must beg the blessing of peace upon it.

(4.) And not peace alone, but peace and plenty too, peace and prosperity withal.

(5.) That there may be walls about it for this peace, and palaces within it for this prosperity.

(6.) But lastly, that this peace and this prosperity may be the reward only of them that love it; and for them that love it not, but malign, and spite, and hurt it all they can, that they may go seek some other, for here we find no reward for them.

And these will fall out to be the heads of our present discourse, of which that we may speak to the honour of Almighty God, the peace of our souls, and the prosperity of His Church, I shall, &c.

THE BIDDING OF THE COMMON PRAYERS.

Pater Noster Qui es in cœlis.

(1.) We begin with Jerusalem, the subject upon which we are to work, and the body for which the prophet would have us thus careful. That body consisteth of two parts, and

these two parts, be the Church of God, and the state of the kingdom, expressed here in this Psalm by the house of the Lord, in the first verse, and the house of king David in the fifth. So that Jerusalem stands not here for the city and the state alone, nor for the temple and the Church alone, but for both together; and our care, our love, to be shewed unto them both; that when any man is busy for the state and the commonwealth of the kingdom, we set not the Church aside, and forget not the commonwealth of it; and when zealous for the Church, the state and the peace of it, that we forget not the state and the peace of the kingdom neither, but, as we are members of both, so to be careful for the good and prosperity of both. Either of them will not serve the turn, for both together will make up but one Jerusalem, both God's house, and the king's, David's.

And a happy conjunction it is, when God's house and the king's are met together in Jerusalem, in Jerusalem or in any city, in any state besides; that where the kingdom is ready to serve God, and to love the prosperity of His Church, God also may be ready to preserve them and to love the prosperity of the commonwealth, *et propter domum Domini*, so the Psalm here endeth, even for the Church's sake, may seek to do them good. This where they meet; but where they meet not, where either serves the turn, and under a pretended care of the one, the other comes clean to be despised and set at nought, I know not what else to say of it, but unhappy is that Jerusalem, unhappy are the people that be in such a case.

Yet in all ages there have been some, and are too many in this, who are well content to be for the prosperity of the state, for they know well their livelihoods and means must depend upon it; but, then let the Church sink or swim, since they can live without it, they care little for it; prosper themselves and their own houses, they can never have enough of it, but (hear ye!) prosper no church, no house of religion; they have too much of it already. This is one kind, all for the temporal state, for Jerusalem the kingdom. We will deal justly with you. They have their opposites, another kind, peradventure as ill as themselves, that are all for the spiritual state, for Jerusalem the Church, that cry up *domus Domini*

SERM. VII. so fast, as if *domus Davidis* were not worth the looking after; that so their state be well, no matter how the kingdom fares, but kingdom, power, and glory, and all, must be all swallowed up by them; that think there can be no love shewn to set up the house of God, unless there be some stratagem invented to pull down the house of David; so hard a matter is it to Ps. 122. 3. keep Jerusalem as a city that is at unity within itself, or for factious minded men to hold a mean. But I shall tell you the truth; in the one of these there is but a false religion, that are all for Jerusalem the Church; in the other there is no religion at all, that are all for Jerusalem the state.

Yet such there are, and an evil use it is that has possessed the world. Commonly we cannot affect one part, but we must despise the other; we cannot raise the price of one virtue, but we must cry down all the rest. Ye may see it in many other cases besides this; when some men would exalt the pulpit, they cannot do it without debasing the desk; when they would canonize their preachers, they cannot do it without disgracing their readers; unless prayers and common service may be clean brought out of credit when inward worship is cried up, all outward reverence must be laid down; we cannot give God our souls but we must keep our bodies to ourselves; and if He has the heart, some of us will have the hat, say what ye will. So we cannot possibly bring in alms and works of mercy but offerings and works of devotion must be quite thrown away for relics; and but by the sale of Christ's ointment we know no way to provide either for ourselves or others.

Sensible enough are we in other matters, in this we are all too dull; of two duties that are set forth, we commonly regard but one, and that one we make a means also to depress and hold down the other, as if both could not stand together. It is the case in hand, as if the care of Jerusalem the city, and the good of the commonwealth were a *supersedeas*[d] to any man from the care of Jerusalem the temple, and the good of God's Church. But king David's care here was for both. And Christ's precept is for both, and there is a due regard to

[d] Supersedeas, a writ commanding the suspension of some ordinary proceedings at law, on good cause shewn, which ought otherwise to proceed. Jacob's Law Dict.

be had of both, that what God hath joined together, we presume not to part asunder; and what care the prophet here would have extended to both, we engross not to one alone, for both we may do, and both we must. To be careful for God's house and the Church, is to be a good Christian; to be careful for the king's house and the state, is to be a good subject; and both these are in God's eyes most acceptable. Nay it will ever be found true likewise, the better Christian the better subject, the more we love God's house, the more will we love the king's also. Enough for Jerusalem.

(2.) The next is *Rogate,* that how well we love this body, we would shew it first by praying for it. In which word I include, and the original will do as much, a care to endeavour and seek out what good for it we may, to study and procure what peace for it we can, as well as sit still and wish it well with good prayers for the kingdom first, to come hither and cry *Da pacem in diebus nostris, Domine,* 'Give it peace in our time, O Lord,' and then to run out into the streets, and when we hear of any stirs abroad, to throw up our caps at it, and think the world will be all ours. This may well be *Rogare pacem;* but we never meant it, I am sure it is not *quærite et persequemini pacem,* as the Holy Ghost meant it. Nothing so. Then for the Church; to wish it well, ay, ay, 'For the whole estate of Christ's Church militant here on earth, and especially for the Church wherein we live,' we can all say the prayer by heart to wish it well, I say to pray for the peace, unity, and concord, and prosperity of it, and when we have done that, to go hence and do it all the evil we may, and to seek both the disquiet and the poverty, both the defrauding and the ruin of it, this is so far from *Rogate pacem,* that it cries defiance both to the Church and to the text itself. See Poli. Synops.

To pray for it then, it is not only to speak for it, to speak a good word for it, and to do it a worse mischief, but to speak for it, and to do for it as well; to speak, and seek, and sue, and labour to procure it all the good we are able. But when all is done by men, a hearty prayer to God is like to procure it most good, that what they are not willing to do, He may be pleased to do Himself, by inclining their hearts and making them willing to do it also. And therefore, when all

SERM. VII. the good is done to it that may be done, besides that, the prophet yet calls out for prayer, as the most requisite for Church and state of all other duties that we may do for them, and the most available means to procure that good unto them from men, which otherwise they are not so likely to do of themselves.

Which St. Paul knew well, when above all other things conducing to a quiet and peaceable life, his exhortation was
1 Tim. 2. 1. to make prayers, and supplications, and intercessions for all men, but specially for kings, and them that bear rule over us in the state.

Nor does the Church less want our prayers than the kingdom does, against which the enmity of the world is more fierce, the devices of men more subtle, and the gates of hell set wider open than against any other state of the world
Mat. 16. 18. besides. For while Christ tells St. Peter that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church, He tells us withal that these gates of hell, they gape not wider for any thing than they do for it, even for the mischief and the ruin of the Church, with that which will surely follow it, even the desolation of all religion and piety. We see then the necessity of prayer for Jerusalem; and from it we pass to the third thing, which is the necessity of her peace; for there be two blessings here, which our prayers are to beg at God's hands, and which our endeavours are to procure at all hands, both to the Church and state wherein we live, which is peace and plenty. And peace is the first.

(3.) Of which we cannot say less, than that it is one of the greatest blessings that either a state or a Church can enjoy; for let them have other blessings never so many, plenty and prosperity never so much, yet if they have them and have no peace with them, they are but nominal, they are no real blessings. The blessing of peace is that only which blesseth and crowneth all other blessings whatsoever.

It is not so easily conceived, this, by them that live in peace already, but of them that want it, it is known full well; and what would not they give to have it, that at any time have it not?

I would therefore, while we are telling of this blessing of peace, that you would look not upon yourselves in a quiet

state at home, but upon others in a troubled state abroad; upon a kingdom in war and blood, upon a Church in schism and persecution; that you would ask them which are hewn asunder by the sword, and roasted to ashes with the flame, that you would conceive but their case once to be your own; and then tell me whether it be not good advice or no, by all means *quærere et rogare pacem Jerusalem,* to seek for and to sue, to pray for and to preserve, the peace of the state and Church wherein we live.

I begin with the state first, the civil peace; for when we do but hear the word spoken, even that peace comes first into our minds, even Augustus' peace, and the shutting up of Janus, and the ceasing all noise of war.

Wherein I shall never fear to make civil peace a part, as of David's here, so of Christ's wish in the Gospel, nor of His *beati pacifici* neither; to say that happy they be that have it, and blessed for ever that are the procurers of it. Mat. 5. 9.

I have told you before, that Christ would be born in this time of civil peace over the world; you may know by that what account He made of it; and by His account what we are to do likewise.

Therefore *Orbem pacatum,* as Tertullian[e] tells us, that the world might be at peace, was ever a clause in the prayers of the primitive Church, and is still kept in ours.

But there are some that delight themselves in broils and contentions, and say it is but the coward's prayer this, to pray all for peace; and that it never was, nor never will be, good world again, till this desire of peace be laid down, and war set up, with all her colours and ensigns about her. Others that are bold to tell us so, the prophet David gives you but bad counsel and Christ Himself no better; the Apostles were out, the old Christians wrong, and the Church of England as ill as they, when in her public Litanies she appoints us to pray, 'that we may all be delivered from battle and murder,' and that we may be hurt by no persecution. Ps. 122. 6. Mat. 5. 9. Rom. 12. 18. Heb. 12. 14, &c.

But we are men that from Christ's mouth preach *Beati*

[e] The passage to which allusion is made appears to be this. Oramus pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, et quæcunque hominis et Cæsaris vota sunt. Apologet. cap. xxx. p. 27. edit. 1664.

SERM. VII.

pacifici, and from David's mouth *Rogate pacem Jerusalem*, which we are to make good against both these opposers, both the one and the other. Those that think it a cowardly, first, then those that think it an unlawful prayer.

And for the former; we know not what some men call courage and valour, but sure we are king David was one that wanted neither, famous in Israel for his valour, and renowned through the world for his victories, that made single combat with the giant, and dyed the Philistines in their own blood, that made war with a witness, and proved most victorious in it; yet he it is here, as great a sword-man, as stout a warrior as he was, that comes in upon *Rogate pacem*, and not only bids us pray, but prays also for peace himself. It is the conqueror's prayer. Again, with the poor, weak shepherds, that perhaps had no valour in them, there was a company of heavenly soldiers, saith St. Luke, and sure we are that they had valour and courage in them enough; yet their prayer was for peace too, *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et pax in terris*. It is *votum militare*, it comes from the mouths of soldiers themselves; they praise it, and pray for it, they sing of it, and wish it, where they wish any good; neither know they what better thing they should wish to men, than peace upon earth. So it is the soldier's prayer also, not the gown-man's alone, nor the weak man's prayer only, but the wise and the valiant and the stout man's too. And being so, we may be certain it is neither cowardice to pray for peace, nor courage to call for broils and troubles.

1 Sam. 16. 18. 2 Sam. 8. 13; 17. 8. 1 Chron. 28. 3.

Lu. 2. 13.

For what greater happiness can there be, than that it should be with us here on earth, as it is with the Angels in heaven? and with them it is all peace, as Nazianzen[f] well observes from their prayer in the Gospel, *pugnas et dissidia nescire Deum et Angelos*, no broils, no brabbles in heaven, but all at quiet there, and all wishing for peace here. So that a kind of heaven there is upon earth, when there is peace upon earth; and justly are they blessed and rightly are they called the children of God that are, or shall be at any time, the procurers of it.

Not that it is unlawful to enter upon a war neither, (as

[f] . . . τούτων δ' οὐδὲν οὕτως ἴδιον, ὡς τὸ ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀστασίαστον. S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xii. Opp. i. 198. edit. 1630.

the Anabaptists[g] hath sometimes fondly taught,) when nor peace nor right can otherwise be performed; but that in the midst of such troubles, our desires and ends be still for peace; that howsoever the sword may be put into the hand, yet that *Rogate pacem*, the prayer for peace, be never put out of the heart.

And *absque hoc* I cannot tell what account men make of contentions and garboils and mischief done to the other. For if peace be God's blessing, as a chief of His blessings it is, we may reckon by that what contention, what no peace is: no less than the curse of God, than the rod of His wrath, as Isaiah termeth it, whereby men are scourged for their pride and for their weariness of a peaceable and godly life. No, it is but a sport, says Abner, for men to go together by the ears; but he found it, as ye all find it, even in any breach of the peace whatsoever, a little sport in the beginning, but bitterness in the ending, not to fail. Whereupon we bring in king David's advice, both for the state in general, and for every one of you in particular; 'Pray for the peace;' seek her out wherever she is to be found; and if she hides herself, enquire after her; if she flies from you, give her not over yet, but follow her to the end, and when you have gotten her, you have got a blessing, the greatest blessing that this world can afford.

Is. 10. 5.

2 Sam. 2. 14.

In regard whereof, those other men have but little to do, it seems, who are finding fault with the public prayers of the Church, when, according to the prophet's rule here, we pray for the continuance of our peace, and desire to be kept from battle and persecution. Nay, when we do as king David adviseth, and as St. Paul enjoineth, and must be blamed for that, I know not what to say to them. This I will say, we need not wonder at their other cavils, when these be so unchristian. 'Pray for the peace of Jerusalem,' saith the prophet here: pray that you may live a peaceable and a godly life under your king, saith St. Paul. No; pray for no peace, pray not against any[h] battle, saith our Puritan, directly against the text; and for so saying let us ever think what spirit governs the sect, we shall be sure to find that it is none

1 Tim. 2. 2.

[g] See L. Osiandri Epit. Hist. Eccles. iv. 935. Tubing. 1608; Seckend. Hist. Luth. i. 177.

[h] See Hooker's E. P., v. 48.

SERM. VII. of the Spirit of peace. They are all for contentions and brabbles, both at home and abroad, and He every where against them, as we also ought to be; and let this be enough for the first point.

I should now come from the civil peace, the peace of the state, to the religious peace, the peace of the Church; and the peace that we are to preserve, one Christian with another; but of that, there is somewhat more to be said than the time will now allow, which will force us to reserve it till, by God's grace, we have another.

Only for a conclusion at this time, let us ever and always remember that without peace abroad we shall never be in peace at home; and if the state has no quiet, we cannot choose but want that blessing ourselves. That therefore, being subjects under a blessed and a gracious and a peaceable king, we pray for the continuance of his peace, and for the prosperity of this Jerusalem, all our life long; that we join with Christ in His wish, *pax in terris*, and with David in his, *pax in Jerusalem*, and with St. Paul in his, 'peace with all men as far as lies in us,'—that God would put it into our hearts, and into the hearts of all that profess His Name, so to affect His peace, that the prophet here may have his wish, that as the old Christians said, *Orbis pacatus*[1], there may be peace through the Christian world. Indeed such desires may speed or miss thereafter, as they meet with the sons of peace; but howsoever such good desires, such holy prayers, shall always return into our own bosoms, and the God of peace will never fail to reward them with peace and joy hereafter, that love righteousness and peace here. To which peace and joy He bring us, That hath prepared the same for us, even Christ our Lord and Saviour.

Joh. 14. 27.
Ps. 122. 6.
Rom. 12. 18.

[1] Tertull. Apologet. cap. xxx. p. 27. edit. 1664.

SERMON VIII.

IN FESTO PENTECOSTES, DURHAM, [MAY 20,] 1632.

Adjutorium nostrum in Nomine Domini.

ROMANS viii. 14.

Quicunque Spiritu Dei aguntur, ii sunt filii Dei.

For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, those are the sons of God.

[*For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.*]

THIS feast keep we holy to the sending of the Holy Ghost. And ever upon this feast somewhat we are to speak, and some text to choose that belongs to His sending; so does this. The Gospel[a] ye heard refers to the promise of it, 'I will send Him;' the Epistle[b] to the performance of it. And He was sent upon the persons of the Apostles to remain with the Church for ever. This text, to the end of promise and performance both, that now God has sent Him, and come He is, He may have that honour done Him for which His coming and His sending was, That was to be our leader and our guide, that we may be led by the Spirit of God in this verse, that we might walk not after the conduct of the flesh but after the leading of the Spirit, in all the verses before. For first and last through this whole chapter, the Apostle still sends us to the Spirit, to see whether we follow Him, or no; whether our walk lies after His guiding, or the guiding of some other; if after His, then to assure ourselves that we are right and that we keep this feast to some purpose, being

Rom. 8. 1, 12, 13, &c.

[a] John 14. 15. The Gospel for the day.

[b] Acts 2. 1. The portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle for the day.

SERM. VIII.

thereby brought unto a state of happiness, even the blessed state of the sons of God. But if not, if we choose to like better of some other guide to be led by than of Him (suppose it be of the world, or the flesh, or our own self-will, or any such leaders as they be,) then to make account we are wrong, and that we keep this feast of the Holy Ghost to no purpose at all, being by that means brought to a state of misery and death, even the miserable estate of the sons of wrath. So it runs here. 'If ye live after the flesh, ye shall surely die; but if by the Spirit ye mortify the flesh, ye shall surely live. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, those are the sons of God.' Then as many as are not led by Him, whose sons are they? Sons of God they are none, and part of Christ's inheritance are they none, they are none of His sure; they long[1] to some other.

Rom. 8. 13.

[1] belong

By this now we come to know what the use of the Holy Ghost is, and what the use of His feast; that without Him, all our other feasts of the year are nothing, even all the rest, from the very first, the Incarnation, to the very last, the Ascension of Christ, though all honourable in themselves, yet never a one of them beneficial to us without this day, and this duty of the day, which we are to keep holy to the Holy Ghost. For in all these of Christ He made but the purchase only, He did but pay for this inheritance and state of sons which we look for, He gave us no possession, nor livered[2] us any seizin of it Himself, but reserved that for His Spirit, Who is the earnest, the investiture of our redemption, saith St. Paul, that as many as were led by Him might be brought into full fruition of it, invested to the state, and be made heirs with Christ, even the sons of the living God.

[2] delivered

2 Cor. 1. 22; 5. 5. Eph. 1. 14.

So that upon the well or ill keeping, the good or bad use of this feast, depends our interest or our forfeit of all that went before. For that cause it would[3] be the better heeded; and if we be willing to learn, this text will teach us.

[3] should

In it I shall consider two general heads, (I.) the duty of the day, out of each *aguntur*, that is, the duty we owe to the Holy Ghost, to be led by Him; (II.) and then the fruit of it, out of *Filii Dei*, that doing our duty and being so led, we come to have assurance made us that we are the sons of God; these two. And in the first I set forth these parts.

(1.) That we are in a way; Christianity is a way.

(2.) That in this way we are to walk; in Christianity there must be a going forward, it is no idle, but a stirring and an active life.

(3.) That in our going we follow a guide; not to go at a venture, or to gad ourselves alone.

(4.) That this guide, the right guide, be the Spirit, and no other guide.

(5.) That this Spirit be the right Spirit, and no other than the Spirit of God, to Whom this day and this duty both be dedicate.

Then in the second, (but I think we shall not reach to it to-day,) I shall set forth,

(1.) That they who observe the duty shall be sure of the blessing, shall be the sons of God.

(2.) That they all,

And (3.) That they only; for the Apostle says not barely, such as are led shall be sons, (so might others be, as well as they,) but ὅσοι ἄγονται, οὗτοι εἰσιν, as many as are led so, they are,—with a double emphasis, to them only, as many, and no more; they, and none but they. These are the parts; of which, &c.

THE BIDDING OF THE COMMON PRAYERS.

Pater Noster.

(1.) 'As many as are led.' I said that leading did suppose a guide, and a guide supposeth a going, and going must needs suppose a way to go in. So here we begin; where I am to tell you these terms of 'way,' and 'walking,' and 'going on,' and 'leading,' meet us so thick all along the Scripture, and are so frequent as well in holy as in human writers, that plain it is our life is held a journey, not so much of *via pedum*, the way that we pace with our feet, as of *via morum*, the way that we trace with our actions. Our doings are said to be our goings, go they which way they will; in which sense the schoolmen are wont to call us all *Viatores*[c], travelling and wayfaring men, every one of us, even from our

[c] Hug. de S. Victore, Opp. i. 41. edit. 1617; and very frequently elsewhere in the writings of the Fathers and Schoolmen.

SERM. VIII.

first coming into the world to our last going out of the world again, still going in a way either right or wrong, out or in, one of the two. It behoves us that our way be right, and that we know whereunto it will bring us, for those two are all, and yet no more than we look to in every journey than to be looked to in this of ours, our spiritual wayfare and travel in this vale of vanity. The end whither we go, and the way by which we go; for otherwise we wander up and down, we know not where, nor we know not whither, not *viatores* then, but *vagabundi*. But *viatores* we are. And the end whither we are to go, and come at last, lies open to the view, is plain here before our eyes at the end of the verse; we are to come to the inheritance of the sons of God, to be made heirs with Christ. And happy we, if in our travels we may once arrive there; I make no doubt but that is agreed on at all hands, if that way thither were agreed on as well. But the way is various; many a way open and fair to see to, yet but one way to be taken of them all. There I suppose we must agree again upon the necessity of a guide; one that shall lead us in the right way, for fear of erring, and travelling, and coming at last, not to this, but to another, a fearful end.

(2.) But before we come to our leader, this (I trow) will be agreed on again, that if this life of ours be a way, if we be set upon a journey, we are to travel and go on in it; it is a traveller's and no idle man's life. And so let every man make account that the estate of a Christian after his baptism is the estate of him that hath undertaken a voyage, which by standing still and doing nothing, or by going some two steps at first and then sit down and give over, will never be performed; it must be by continual steps, and pressing forwards,

Phil. 3. 14. as St. Paul speaks, to the mark and end we aim at.

To them, therefore, that have taken up their rest, say they have gone far enough already and are weary, make no progress in Christianity—to them that are no further on their way of religion now than they were seven years since, we say, as Christ said to them in the market, Why stand ye

Mat. 20. 6. still? 'why stand ye here all the day idle?' The day comes and the year returns, and ye are not a step further; otherwhiles ye are further back, too, than ye were before. This is no traveller's life, and therefore no life of a Christian, it

has too much ease in it; as [if] he said, Lay all upon Christ's shoulders, and let us sit down and take no thought, He will travel for us all and make us all sons of God (that is, bring us to our journey's end) whether we set foot forwards in the way or no. I thought where it was; this is the conceit of many in the world, and this is to live after the flesh, the very thing that St. Paul here complains on as being most opposite to the Spirit, and most destructive of this day's duty to Him. I will give you better counsel; they are lumps of flesh that lie still and idle, or somewhat that is worse, stir not a whit themselves, but lay all the burden and travail upon another. Come seek Me, all ye that travail, and I will refresh you, says Christ; He does not say, all ye, or any of ye, that travail not, that sit still and do nothing. Therefore the counsel is, and so is the lesson, that in our way of religion we be still moving on, every day getting some ground or other in it; and that not slowly neither, but as they that make an expedition, or as they that are set to run in a race, (so the Apostle styles it;) where every one strives to get the mastery, we should go the swiftest pace, that is, we should make the best progress in Christianity.

Mat. 11. 28.

Heb. 12. 1.

1 Cor. 9. 25.

(3.) And now to our leader; for the way we speak of, the right way, is somewhat hard to find; *et dux nobis opus est*, I trow; we need a guide to lead us in it; the best of us all.

Indeed if the way was so broad and easy as that every body might hit on it, blind men and all, take what course they would, we should never need to trouble ourselves with a leader, we might go where we would and give St. Paul a *supersedeas*[d] here for his ἄγονται. But the way is not so broad, says Christ, and it is but a blind man's fancy otherwise to judge of it. The way is strait and narrow of itself, hard to find; and besides, there be a many by-paths and cross turnings by the way-side, that without doubt we shall surely miss unless we seek a leader to guide us.

Mat. 7. 14.

From hence then to take notice of our own frail infirmities, of the wandering and payless estate we are in till God vouchsafes to send us a leader, how ready we are to stray and wander and go, we know not whither, unless we have one to go with us, and one that, like the word in Isaiah, shall still

[d] See note to Sermon VII. p. 110.

SERM. VIII.

call out to us as we go, and say, *Hæc est via*, 'Hear ye, this is the way,' and that is none of it; keep ye here and turn not from it: for if ever we be in the right way to our heavenly inheritance we are beholden to our guide for it, it is He only That keeps us in and tells us when we are amiss; otherwise, *sicut oves erraticæ*, as Ezekiel compares us, we are straggling upon every mountain; *sicut populi in deserto*, we have neither path nor pillar to go by; *sicut servi in Ægypto*, we are scattered over all the land of Egypt, to seek stubble and straw, the express pattern of the world, wandering in vanity and picking up straws, and seeking things that shall not profit us; nay seeking them for him too that seeks the ruin of us all, the devil, of all us, as Pharaoh did of the Israelites, till they were so happy as to get Moses to be their guide, and we the Spirit, to lead us from this scattering and running after their ruin, brought them into the right way and led them through the wilderness. So the Spirit should lead us through the world to the land of promise, to the land of our inheritance.

Is. 30. 21.

Ezek. 34. 6.

Jer. 25. 24.

Ex. 5. 12.

That by this time we see the necessity of a leader. And if we see it, what see we in them, trow ye, that think they want no leader? that take it in foul scorn they should not be thought able to lead themselves? that can go well enough without a teacher, they. They need none of your help; nay, and can take upon them to lead others too; all must go their way, and they will bring them, but God knows whither. Surely if this world goes on, we shall have them to undertake more, to control their own leaders, to be guides and leaders to them too; and then is this verse inverted, this text turned quite backwards to what it is now; not so many led by the Spirit, but the Spirit led by so many; not so many as are the sons of God led by the Spirit of God, but the Spirit of God, and any one's spirit besides, led by so many; as though they be not, yet think themselves to be the dearest sons and daughters that God has, and the only wise men and women of the world.

Well, be their wisdom as it will, but sure we are, as a wise and reverend prelate hath told us, a wise man he was and a godly that told St. Philip in the Acts, he was not able to lead himself, nor knew not the way to be made one of the sons of

Acts 8. 28, &c.

God without a guide, and therefore a guide he got him, took him to his chariot. And whatever others do, the best and surest way will be to follow the tract that the wheels of his chariot have made, to get us a leader and to account our state the state of them that must be led, and are not able to go the way themselves.

(4.) To be led, then. Yet not by every leader, but by one that knows, one that is skilful in the way. This is the fourth point. And no point need we to be so much advised of, as of this; that if we assent to have a leader, we take a right one, one that has his eyes in his head, and the way perfect; for *si cœcus cœcum* (as Christ said), being blind ourselves, if we be led by them that are blind too, which, God wot, is the common leading we have among us now, the fruit is *in foveam*, at last they both fall into a ditch, and there they perish. Mat. 15. 14.

One that is a skilful leader then. And (as He said of Christ, so say I here of the Spirit of Christ) who is he? or where shall we have any so skilful to lead us as He is? The Spirit Whom Christ erewhiles at His going up to heaven, said He would send and set this day to lead us into all truth; the Spirit That helpeth us and knoweth our infirmities; that if we be at a stand is able to advise us, if we be out is able to bring us in again. No better leader than He. Acts 1. 8. Joh. 16. 13. Rom. 8. 26.

And I make no doubt but all that travel by this way and are willing to have a guide, will so resolve that the Spirit is the best leader. Of the leader then we are agreed, so are we not of the Spirit yet.

For we have pretenders, good store, to the Spirit; and many spirits there are, saith St. John, which be gone abroad in the world, yet never a true spirit, never a Spirit of God among them all, but one. 1 Joh. 4. 1.

To try the spirits therefore, whether they be of God or no, as St. John says there, whether the Spirit that leads us be the Spirit of Christ or no, as the Apostle says here, will be all the labour; and now we shall have somewhat to do. 1 Joh. 4. 1.

(5.) Whether the Spirit, first, the fifth point; next, whether the Holy Spirit, the Spirit to Whom we keep this day holy, that is, the Spirit of God? The Spirit; for men may be led, and not with the Spirit, though in the mean while they think they are. The Spirit of God, for there may be a mis-

SERM. VIII. take again, there may be a spirit to lead us which is none of God's, and unless it be both *Spiritus*, and *Spiritus Christi*, this text is not satisfied.

As many as are led by the Spirit, first. And here we may be full oft mistaken, there is some near affinity between a humour and a spirit. That humour has deceived a many, and made them think they were led by the Spirit, when it was but their own fleshly will and fancy only that hurried them away. So have we seen fierce men and hot in their humour, taken themselves to be led all the while by the spirit of zeal; subtle men and cunning in theirs, to be led by the spirit of knowledge; wary ones and wise in their own conceit, by the spirit of counsel; stubborn men and wilful in their humour, to be led by the spirit of fortitude; froward men and disorderly in their humour, disorderly both in Church [and state,] to be led by the spirit of freedom; and a whole saint-seeming tribe together in their fancy to be led by the spirit of godliness. The world would think now here were the gifts of the Holy Ghost to guide them; and yet are they but humours all when all is done, and humours of their own brain too, that flow thither either from their gall, or from their spleen, or from somewhat that is worse, take they which they will, and become spirits perhaps to mislead them away, but spirits to lead them aright are they none. They talk of puppets in religion and I know not what, and truly it may be not without cause neither, where men are so foolish to use them, but then sure I am these are no better, no better than the *spectra religionis*[e], very shows and puppets of religion indeed; if they abide not the one, let them not abide the other neither, but let the one be abhorred as much as the other, and in the name of God let us not be led aside with either. These humours, like them in the body, they may well quiver in the veins and disturb the course of nature; but there is no life, no spirit of religion in them.

It will much concern us, then, to be sure of the spirit; and yet we have not done, for it will concern us more to be sure that when we are led by the spirit, that spirit be the Spirit of God; the sixth point.

(6.) And the reason is, because the world has set up many

[e] See Andrewes' Sermons, vol. iii. p. 274.

a spirit besides; and every one will have his own spirit to be Him; as Christ foretold us, ye shall have more Christs set up to guide you; and as His Apostle told the Corinthians, ye shall have them come and bring them with *alium spiritum* and *aliud evangelium*, another spirit to lead you and a new Gospel to direct you the way which He never taught them. Another? yea, and many another, saith St. John; many, saith St. John's Master, will come in His name and tell you, Lo here he is, and as soon as ye have done with him, Lo here he is again, that will lead you right. In such a place, at such a meeting, ye shall not miss of Him; ye shall have leaders, ye shall have spirits there enough, but scarce a good one among them all.

2 Cor. 11. 4.

1 Joh. 4. 1.

Mat. 24. 5.

For there is but one true one to lead us aright, when all is done; but one Lord and one Spirit to guide us, saith St. Paul, and that one would be only followed, if we might discern him, which he is. Now, I say, it is the harder to do this, because as there is a good Spirit of God, *Qui ducit*, so there is a wicked spirit of the devil, *qui seducit;* take we heed of him. I will mention him no more. As there is a Spirit of truth, holding out the word of God to lead us in the way of truth, so there is a spirit of error, and a spirit of lies, holding out some trifling vanity or other to mislead us as fast quite another way, and as fast as he leads, the world is ready too to follow him. From whence it is that some men are led by the spirit of slumber, and pass away their time as they do their sleep in the night, without any other thought taking but that they are sure enough of the spirit, do they what they will, as the Valentinians[f] of old in Epiphanius, that held themselves no more polluted with filthiness than a wedge of gold with a dunghill, they were pure metal still, pure spirituals. Others by the spirit of giddiness, (as when time was the prophet Isaiah noted them, we may note them as well,) who run up and down, here and there, they care not after what spirit, and change their leader as they change their landlord, are

Eph. 4. 4.

1 Tim. 4. 1.

1 Kings 22. 22.

[f] ... τὸ πνευματικὸν θέλουσιν οἱ αὐτοὶ εἶναι ἀδυνάτον φθορὰν καταδέξασθαι, κἂν ὁποίαις συγκαταγένωνται πράξεσιν. ὃν γὰρ τρόπον χρυσὸς ἐν βορβόρῳ κατατεθεὶς οὐκ ἀποβάλλει τὴν καλλονὴν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν διαφυλάττει, τοῦ βορβόρου μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαι δυναμένου τὸν χρυσὸν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς λέγουσι, κἂν ἐν ποίαις [κἂν ὁποίαις?] ὑλικαῖς πράξεσι καταγένωνται, μηδὲν αὐτοὺς παραβλάπτεσθαι, μηδὲ ἀποβάλλειν τὴν πνευματικὴν ὑπόστασιν. S. Epiph. adv. Hær. lib. i. hær. 31. tom. i. p. 189, edit. Paris. 1622.

SERM. VIII.

either of none at all, or every third year of a new religion. This is the spirit of the world, and we think it is wisely done too, to follow no spirit, to put no religion in practice but what may stand with our own ends of safety and ease.

But after all these and above them all, the most common misleading spirit is our own private spirit, against which St. Peter has directly opposed the Spirit of God, when we cannot get it out of men's heads but that their own ghost is the Holy Ghost, and leads them as He would lead them; this spawn, this, of that spirit of pride, and no other, wherewith the old Donatists were possessed in St. Austin's time, who gave it out boldly and would not be controlled[g], *Quod nos volumus, illud sanctum est*, the way that we go is holy and right, and no way besides. Therefore, saith St. Austin, every one of them went a several way, they had every man a way to himself, aud agreed in nothing, but that they all went wrong. Let this be the spirit that leads us and we shall have leaders enough, so many spirits so many leaders too; and then may St. Paul's *Spiritus idem et unicus* go take His leave.

1 Cor. 12. 11.

Jer. 15. 19. 1 Cor. 12. 10.

Well then, what shall we now do to sever the precious from the vile? to discern the leading Spirit of God from all other misleading spirits whatsoever, to set *Hic est* upon the right spirit?

There be many good signs in Scripture to know Him by; I will tell you them that will not fail you, and so send you to them away, for the time would fail me if I should go any further.

Rom. 8. 13. Gal. 5. 17.

One is St. Paul's sign, set there at the door of the text, the verse before. It leads you out to war against the flesh and to mortify the lusts of it; your pride and malice, your self-will and envy; your fornication, uncleanness, wantonness, and the rest of that rabble. It is surely the Spirit of God, the right Spirit that leads you, for the Spirit is ever at enmity with the flesh, ever warring and fighting against it, as other spirits are not; for take ye what spirit ye will besides, and ye shall ever note them to make much of their flesh for all their spirit, to put it on fine clothes, I'll warrant you, and to pamper it well; otherwhiles to dress it like a pageant too,

[g] See Andrewes' Sermons, vol. iii. p. 275.

and walk after it to any vanity, wheresoever it will lead them. This spirit seduces many; but it is a wicked one, it is none of this that comes from God.

Of it the second sign shall be Zacharias' sign, in the Benedictus. If it be Christ's Spirit, the Spirit That He sent to-day to lead us, He will be ever guiding our feet into the way of peace; not of questions and disputations about we know not what, as the pretenders to the Spirit do now; not about strifes and controversies in certain subtile points, whereof there is no end, and about which we weary ourselves, some of us, all our life long; but *in viam pacis*, leads us only into the way wherein there is peace, even to tread those paths, and to do such duties about which none will dispute, none call into question, but that they are to be done without any controversy at all. This is a sure sign; if our delight be to walk in the ways of this peace, doing those things that are plain and necessary to be done, and whereof all parts agree, it is the Spirit of God That leads us, in that way we follow Him. But, as the use is, if we love rather to be treading mazes in religion, to be still disputing with strife and doing nothing with obedience and quiet, it is a shrewd sign we follow our own spirit and are not led by the Spirit of God. Lu. 1. 79.

Look but into this feast, see His sign, see where He dwells at the very beginning of the Epistle to-day, 'And they were all together with one accord in His house,' not whetting their wits to dispute, not filing their tongues to talk, but setting their feet into this way of peace; and suddenly, says the text, the Holy Ghost came upon them. He is a Spirit that loves ὁμοθυμαδὸν, the plain way of peace. Again, look but into His type before this, 'And the Spirit of God came down upon Him like a dove,' the emblem and the sign of peace too. They who would have Him come down like a vulture and devour all up that are not of their minds, or like the Roman eagle to tear all Churches and kingdoms in pieces that will not stoop to them, I wonder by what spirit they are led. Surely, *nescitis cujus spiritus*, may be a fit answer to them. Acts 2. 1. Mat. 3. 16. Lu. 9. 55.

A third sign of Him; and that is of Christ's own setting up, a little before He went up to heaven Himself. If He be the Spirit of God, by which we are led, we may ever and anon be calling out to Him to direct us in our way; to

SERM. VIII. counsel us as we go. 'When the Comforter is come,' says Christ, 'He will teach you all things, what ye have to do;' where we have two characters of Him. We will go to Him for counsel to direct us, as well as for comfort to relieve us; we will not let Him alone, as we do the physician, till we grow sick and come near the hour of our death, till we begin to faint by the way and can go no further; but we will make a teacher, a counsellor of Him too, all our life long, we will call Him to us and pray Him to look on us in every step we take, we will question with Him in particular in every action we do, have private conference with Him about the estate of our souls, whether they be in the way or no, or whether they be in error and sin. And they that do not so, let them take it for a rule, Christ will never take them to be led by His Spirit, nor St. Paul here by the Spirit of God.

Joh. 16. 13.

Let us take another sign from him, *Hæc omnia operatur Spiritus*, and with that will we make an end; for all that should be said of this Spirit, and the rules to know Him by, cannot be said at once; and I doubt not you will hear of Him again to-morrow and the next day, the mysteries being so great, and the lessons so many, that concern Him, that the Church has for that cause purposely appointed more days for Him than one[h].

1 Cor. 12. 11.

To St. Paul's *operatur* then, which is the surest sign of all. If the Spirit of God lead us, He will always keep us in action; as we go we will have ever somewhat to do well, and be still kept to work under Him the works of God. For as each spirit besides, so has this His proper work; and by their works ye shall know them. So the work of this Spirit, and of them that are led by Him, saith the Apostle, are manifest; are joy, and love, and peace, and mercy, and meekness, and faith, and temperance, and piety, and purity; against such there is no exception, but that they are led by the Spirit of Christ. And if we live in the Spirit, let us also walk and work in the Spirit; it is the same Apostle. But who ever heard that the works of the flesh, which is enmity with God, came from the Spirit of God? Let no man deceive us; the works of uncleanness come not from the holy, but from the unclean spirit. The works of darkness come not from the

Mat. 7. 20.

Gal. 5. 22.

Gal. 5. 25.

[h] Namely, the Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun week.

spirit of light, nor the works of error and deceit from the spirit of truth. I might enlarge here far. Not the works of envy and malice from the spirit of love and meekness; not the works of Cain and Judas from the spirit of piety and peace; not any works of the devil from the Spirit of God. We learn as much at the very door of the Church, at the font of Baptism, when ye come to christen your children, that is, to baptize them with the Holy Ghost and to put them under His conduct, I trow they must first forsake the devil and all his works[1], or else Baptism they get none, the Holy Ghost will not lead them. And look, as it was at your Baptism, so will it be all your life long; those works must be left, or else the Spirit of God is none of your leader, some other spirit is, I named Cain and Judas, I will name no more. When Cain murmured against his brother for offering so fat a sacrifice, a fatter than he; when Judas grudged and accused, and put up an indictment against Mary Magdalene's superfluity and superstition, because she bestowed so much cost upon Christ's body, nay, because he would have had the money to put up within his own pouch, trow ye it was the love of Christ that led them, or the love of themselves? Nay, an ye would see the spirit of envy lead a man by the ears, look upon Cain and Judas, and such as they are; their works will shew it. Gen. 4. 5. Joh. 12. 4.

And what we say for works we may say for words also, the words be not so sure; yet this is sure, that if it be the Spirit of God that sits upon our tongues, as He came in that shape to-day, to guide and rule them as they go, (for they go too in their way otherwhiles faster than fit,) our language will be as our works are, holy and religious, and such (as St. Paul saith) becometh saints. But if cursing and bitterness, the eloquence of this country; if many a foul and fearful oath, the language of these times; if obscene and idle communication proceed out of our mouths, it is a plain sign, our very speech bewrays us, that we are led by the evil speaker, and in Greek his name is διάβολος; but they that are led by the Spirit here of the text, the Spirit of this day, have some other language. Acts 2. 3. Phil. 1. 27. Rom. 16. 2.

Works, and words, and thoughts, will make up all; but I

[1] Exhortation to godfathers and godmothers in the Baptismal Service.

SERM. VIII. will not speak of them, since in the best evil thoughts m arise and be repelled again, and then do they no hurt; if war against them and assent not to them, this Spirit v lead us still. I should now come to say that those wh He thus leads, and those who are thus led by Him, a resist Him not, that they are the sons of God, they, a none but they. But this will ask another hour, and another time.

Of the Sacrament yonder somewhat would be said t But now I think of it, most of us use not to stay it out, a for them that do use it, the Church itself has appointed p faces and exhortations better than I can frame any. this let me say for it, out of the text, that they who are by the Spirit of Christ, are led also by the Sacrament Christ, where His Spirit is; and at least I am sure are led from it whenever they come near it. For there, if e

2 Pet. 1. 4. we are made the sons of God and partakers of the Div nature by the power of the Spirit. To which Spirit, with Father and the Son, three persons and one ever-blessed a immortal God, be all honour and glory, &c. Amen.

SERMON IX.

BRANSPETH, JULY 8, 1632.

PRÆCEPTUM PRIMUM, CONCIO PRIMA.

Adjutorium nostrum in Nomine Domini.

EXODUS XX. 3.

Non habebis deos alienos coram Me.

Thou shalt have no other gods before My face, or, *no other gods but Me.*

THE last time, if you remember, we stood here to shew you the outward frame of the Decalogue; considered how aptly, how orderly, every thing was placed and disposed in it; taught you how to number, how to divide, how to order the commandments. It is time now that we went in to take a view of every several commandment by itself.

That view, God enlightening and assisting us, shall be first set upon the words themselves, to see how they are to be understood and explained in every precept; then upon the several duties of the precept, to see what God in every one requires, and will exact at our hands; and lastly, upon the various violations and transgressions of the precept, to see how and wherein we may, and daily do, offend against every one of them.

And truly I judge this, especially for them that be of the ruder sort and simple, to be the readiest and the fittest way of instruction, that they may plead no ignorance against us, and say they were never taught what the duties and the breaches of the law were, or if they do, that we may plead with Moses against them and say, Behold we call heaven and Deut. 30. 19.

SERM. IX. earth this day to record that we have set before you both the one and the other, both life and death, both blessing and cursing, the duties commanded, and the sins forbidden in every precept of the Law.

And we begin this day with the first; wherein to keep the order and method proposed (I.) for the explanation, first, of the words we shall have somewhat to say of *habebis*, and somewhat of *alienos*, and somewhat of every word of moment in the text.

(II.) Then for the duties enjoined. Three propositions naturally and plainly arising from the words themselves; the first out of *habebis*, that we must have a God; the second, out of *Me*, that we must have the true God; the third out of *alienos*, that we must have Him alone, and no other;

And (III.) lastly, as many for the sins here forbidden. (1.) Profaneness, opposed to God, (2.) false worship, opposed to the true God, (3.) and mixed worship, opposed to God alone. This is the sum, and these the parts of which we are to speak; though we shall not speak of all to-day, but of some we shall. And of which that we may speak to the honour of Almighty God, &c. &c.

THE BIDDING OF THE COMMON PRAYERS.

Pater Noster, &c.

There are in this commandment three words, the three first words, *Tu non habebis*, that would be first observed.

The first, common with this to all the rest, that they all run in the second person singular, *Tu;* and the other, common to all but two, that they run negatively, 'shalt not,' and run in the future tense, *non habebis, non facies, non assumes, non occides,* &c. And before we go any further, somewhat would be learnt even out of this.

(1.) Out of the first; that God's law, this and the rest, runs in the second person singular, *Audi Israel, tu non habebis*, speaking to all Israel, and to all the world besides, as to one single man, this we learn, that God's laws appertain to all men alike. In other laws, some men are excepted; in this of His, not any, but all made equal, all made as one, and in

respect of the law, or the bond to observe the law, no respect of persons had. Therefore, *Tu*, here, the word 'Thou,' is as forcible as if there were so many *Tu's*, and the word as oft repeated as there be men and women in the world; *Tu* to the meanest, and *Tu* to the greatest among us all; that none of us all might sooner hear it than apply it to ourselves, and say, 'See ye, I am the man the commandment is directed to, is spoken to me as well as to any one besides; for what difference or distance soever there be kept between us in other matters, yet in this of obedience and service to God, *Tu* makes us all equal.' *Tu* is as every man, and every man as one. Therefore as it was given to the basest and meanest of the army, to the very outcast of the people, (lest they should take themselves to be exempted, as commonly the more base, the more presumptuous and lawless,) so it was given to the captains and leaders of the army, as well, to Moses and Aaron and to the elders of the people, (lest they also should think themselves privileged,) not one exempted, not one in this made better or greater than another. In other cases, those that are greater than their fellows, and can master others, think themselves free from laws; at least that the laws are made but like cobwebs, for them, where the hornets break through and the poor flies are catched; however the meaner men must hear and suffer for their faults, yet that nobody must say *Tu* to them, 'Thou art the man.' 2 Sam. 12. 7. So is it with us; but so is it not here; for by virtue of this *non habebis* here, and *non mœchaberis* afterwards, Nathan would tell David, *Tu es homo;* and John the Baptist reprove 2 Sam. 12. 7. Herod with *non licet tibi;* kings though they were, yet *Tu* here was for them both. Mat. 14. 4.

(2.) The next is, that both this, and most an end the rest of the commandments, are put and given unto us in the negative, *non habebis*, and *non assumes;* telling us what we shall not do, by way of prohibition, rather than what we should do, by way of precept. And therein two lessons have we to learn, two observations to make. The first is, that the commandments are so much the stronger by a rule we have in logic, *Quia ad plura se extendit negatio quam affirmatio;* negatives go further than affirmatives, for they bind most strictly, *semper et ad semper;* and God would have His com-

SERM. IX. mandments go as far, and bind as sure, as any rules of extension would set them. Whereof one rule is, that *qui prohibit impedimentum præcipit adjumentum*, the affirmative is included in the negative; another, *qui negat prohibens jubet promovens*, ye may know what it is God would have you to do, by that which He says He would not have you to do; removing the impediment, by the negative, that the precept may be kept the better, and performed in the affirmative. Therefore every commandment being negative but two, Christ in the Gospel has reduced them all to their two affirmatives; and as much may be said for them that are affirmative likewise, by the rule *a contrariis*, so that every commandment indeed is both the one and the other. And[a] by the use of these rules it is, that the Rabbins have gathered two hundred and forty-eight affirmative commandments from the books of Moses, answerable to the number of the members and joints in a man's body, which they call *Præcepta facies*, the duties that we are to do, and three hundred and sixty-five negatives, answerable to the number of the days of the year, which they call *Præcepta non facies*, the offences and sins that we are to avoid, (both the numbers making up the number of the letters that are contained in the Decalogue,) and thereby teaching us (though in a mystical yet in a good sense) that all the members of the body and all the days of our life are to be employed and spent in the diligent study and observation of the holy commandments of God.

Besides this, there is another note to be taken from this negative; and it is to shew us how unfit our nature is to receive a commandment to do any thing, till by a countermand the opposite impediments, and such things as will hinder us from doing, be first removed from us. Such is the evil indisposition of our corrupt and depraved nature, full of weeds and thorns as it is, that being incapable of good seed, before the ground be cleansed and the weeds rooted up, God

[a] Distinguunt Hebræi præcepta in duplicem ordinem. Alia vocant præcepta faciendi, quæ nos affirmativa appellamus; quæ tot esse asserunt, quot sunt membra in corpore humano, nempe 248. Alia vocant præcepta non faciendi, quæ nos dicimus negativa, quæ tot constituunt, quot sunt in anno dies, nempe 365, quæ simul cum affirmativis constituunt 613, ad quæ expienda erant a lege instituta duo sacrificiorum genera, scilicet, pro peccato et pro delicto. Oleastri Comment. in Pentateuch. p. 341, edit. Lugd. 1589.

saw it good and requisite thus to proceed with us; like as when we are to rear a building ourselves, if any thing has taken up the place already, where it is to stand, we pull it down, or cut it up, and remove all impediments out of the way; if the ground be not steady to build, we drain it; if the body be not fit to receive nourishment, we purge it; if the field be not fit to sow on, we lay it fallow and weed it. It is the course God has taken here in the very beginning, removing that by a negative, which might otherwise hinder the affirmative precepts of His law; that because we are born in evil, and are naturally more prone unto it than unto any good, therefore by these prohibitions we are called from all corruption to the integrity wherein He first created us.

(3.) And now we come to the third; that this and the rest of the commandments (all but two, the fourth and the fifth, and the fourth but in part, excepted neither) are given us in the future tense, 'Thou shalt not;' not in the imperative present, as other laws of our own run; which, as it is ever a secret exprobation of our sins and transgressions past, that whatsoever we will be for the time to come, it may well be known by this, what we have been in times before; so it is a good admonition to us withal, for the time still future, for the days that we have to live hereafter; though we have done amiss and dealt wickedly in times past, and therefore should now give over, yet such is the growing and successive wickedness of our nature, that even in time to come we are then as ready to do wickedly, and to break the commandments of God as we were before; we are caught in our own speech, we say we will do it even when we are but now about to do mischief, as if we meant not to leave off for once, but continue so doing still. Therefore to our *faciam* and our *habebo*, that occurs so often in our speech and actions, for the future it was requisite that God should set His *non facies* and *non habebis* in the future tense too, to meet with us both now and hereafter, as long as we shall have any future time to live; and to warn us withal, that though we do well never so long, yet if we continue not so doing till there be no more future time to come with us, we shall not be discharged of the law, but *non habebis* and *non facies* will be of force against us still. Now we have done with these three, which as

SERM. IX. they have served for this, so they shall serve for all the rest of the commandments; I will repeat them no more.

This commandment is against idolatry. Idolatry is either inward or outward; for the mind and the heart can set up an idol, and commit idolatry within, as well as the body and the knee without; therefore for outward idolatry, order is taken in the second commandment, for inward in this; and God would the rather make two commandments of them, for that the world might know all idolaters are not alike, nor all idolatry condemned and left when men have left off bowing to images, or condemn them that so do never so fast, for then the hypocrite might go free, and at home in secret commit what idolatry he listed. The heart makes the idol as well as the hand, and God hates the one as well as the other.

Deut. 32. 12. Is. 43. 12. All such idols are here termed *deos alienos*, strange gods; *quasi res alienantes a Deo*, things that withdraw us from the love, or honour and worship of the true God.

See Poli Synops. in loc. We say *deos alios*, 'no other gods,' as the Septuagint renders it, and it is the fuller expression, that is, none at all besides, for that He is all in all Himself. 'None but Me,' as the Greek and Chaldee translate it; 'none before Me,' as the Latin; 'none against Me,' 'none before My face,' as the Hebrew, the original, bears it; that hereby we may know, in all times, and in all places, God will never endure to have any thing either more or as much regarded as He is to be Himself; *coram faciebus meis*, says the Hebrew, in the plural number, for the gods we use be many, and the looks He has no less, to eye them all, though never so secret, and to outface them all, though never so many.

For the better conceiving whereof, and of the sense of this whole commandment, it is needful we ask and resolve two questions; the first, how we may be said to have another God, when there is no other to have but Him? the second, how we may be said not to have Him to be our God, when, whether we will or no, our God He is?

Other gods are no gods at all, are nothing, ('We know 1 Cor. 8. 4. that an idol is nothing,' saith St. Paul,) and where nothing is, we say nothing can be had. This is the question; the resolution is, that though in themselves they be nothing, yet in

ur account and estimation they may be somewhat. Therefore the words are, *non erunt tibi,* Ye shall have no other to ourselves, for without this, sure and true it is, that there re no others to have. It is then thereafter as a man's regard is, so is his god; not so, simply, but so had, or not had, hat is, had, or set up in our own account; or not had, neglected and laid aside, as not esteeming them at all. And his answers both the questions at once. If we regard any hing more than God, it is another god unto us; and again, f we regard not Him and His will above all, He is no God to us at all, none as far as we can make Him none, for otherwise our only God He is, and shall be so for ever. It is in this case, as between a rebel and his prince, he would have another to be king, that other is as good as nothing, for the prince says there is no other king but himself; and though the rebel would not have it so, would set up another, and therefore hath him not, or at least, would not have him to himself, yet the truth is, he hath no other king but him indeed, and shall still have him to be his king, whether he accounts him so or not; and this is the case between God and us. When we would exempt ourselves from His service we rebel against Him, we set up another God at home in our hearts, and we regard Him not, we have Him not, that is, we have Him not as we should have Him, in that honour, and fear, and regard, as becometh us; for otherwise we have Him and shall have Him, whether we will or no. And again the philosophers say well, that then a thing is had when it is known to be had, otherwise not; for if a man hath a treasure hid in his ground which he knows not of, he is never said to have it. And then a people that know not God, that are ignorant both of Him and His precepts too, how can they be said to have Him? Again, no man is said to have that whereof he makes no account, as of cobwebs and straws in our houses; we are not reckoned to have them in our inventory, because we make no reckoning of them at all, because we care not whether we have them or no, we had rather be rid of them than have them to trouble us. Into either of these two then if we fall, either not knowing God, (as the nations that knew Him not, saith the Psalmist,) or not regarding His will, as the worldly men that despise Him, to

Ps. 79. 6.

SERM. IX. have their own, fall we upon the breach of this first commandment. And now we come to our propositions, that naturally arise out of the precept. Three affirmative first, and then three negative.

(1.) That plain it is, out of this precept we are to have a God, opposed to atheism, that has none.

(2.) Then the true God, opposed to a false religion, that sets up the wrong one.

(3.) And lastly, the true God alone, opposed to a mixed religion, that sets up many besides Him.

The first is for religion itself, the second for the truth of religion, and the third is for the sincerity and integrity of religion; all which we shall be bound to learn and observe, if we mean to learn and keep this first commandment of the law. I will despatch one of them to-day, and by the rest ye may know my method and intent hereafter.

[1] Formerly

Erewhiles[1] I compared the law of God to a building; in a building the foundation must be first laid, and this is the foundation here of all that follows, the first proposition, that we must have a God; wherein I doubt not but we shall all agree with the Psalmist, to condemn him for a fool that says,

Ps. 14. 1.

There is no God. The very heathen themselves would not say it; and if any did, says Tully[b], there was a fire made to make him away. But then, if there be one, and in the mean while we have Him not, we are never a whit the nearer. The duty here is to 'have' Him. What is that? To know Him, to acknowledge and love Him, to recognise His supreme dominion over us, to give Him worship and honour, to yield Him fear and obedience, to be ruled by His will, to live by His laws; this is to have a God.

Indeed this to have Him, that we have not ourselves, and become our own gods; for our own gods we become when we be not guided by Him. If there be not a superior will over us to rule and control ours, or if our wills be our own, and

Gen. 3. 5.

(as the devil told the woman) if we may judge of good and evil, as we like best ourselves, according to the mind we have, or

[b] Perhaps the following is the passage referred to. Nam Abderites quidam Protagoras, cujus a te modo mentio facta est, sophistes temporibus illis vel maximus, cum in principio libri sic posuisset, 'De diis, neque ut sint, neque ut non sint, habeo dicere,' Atheniensium jussu urbe atque agro est exterminatus, librique ejus in concione combusti. De natura Deor. i. 23.

have not, towards it, in any duty that belongs us; then are we the gods ourselves, and a God above us acknowledge we none. Therefore *eritis dii* struck right here, and the devil said true in that sense, that they should be gods; for they did their own will, and not His; and in that very respect were gods to themselves. Gen. 3. 5.

The duty then enjoined, ye see, that the will of God be our will; that His law be our rule and guide, and then we have Him.

The sin opposed and forbidden, other men call atheism; but because we all confess a God, whether we have Him or no, we will call this sin profaneness. When though there be a God, we will have none for all that; no god, nor no law to control our own liking; but every man will be a god and a law to himself, to do that only which seems good in his own eyes, like the sons of Belial in the book of Judges, that did every one what they had a lust to do themselves, when there was no king in Israel to rule them. It is that the world labours for, and every man studies with himself how to bring it to pass, even at this day; not to be in subjection under any commandments whatsoever, not to have a yoke upon them, nor to be forced nor bound to any thing but what they are willing to do of themselves, and then they say it would be a merry world. A merry, or a miserable? for then the first thing they did, they would surely raze out this first commandment, they would have no director, no lawgiver, no commander, no God at all; or if they had, he should be such a one as would take care to provide only for their ease, and not for his own honour; and that would exact no service from their hands, nor no works from their hands, but specially and above all, no tribute from their purses; one that would fill their bellies and clothe their bodies, and not be too curious about their souls, or their religion howsoever; in sum, one that would command them nothing which is unpleasing, nor forbid them any thing which they have a mind to follow. But be it far from the just to harbour these thoughts, or to follow the gross and bestial conceits of these ungodly men. Judg. 17. 6; 18. 1, &c.

It is the sin of profaneness, forbidden here with the first, and directly opposed to the having and acknowledging of a God over us, that gives Him honour neither *quem*, nor *quan-*

SERM. IX.

tum oportet, but as if all were nothing; make no more of His laws, nor no other esteem of religion, than Esau did of his birthright, that sold it all away to fill his belly; but whom the Holy Ghost, notwithstanding, for setting so light a price upon it, hath condemned for a profane person by the words of St. Paul.

Gen. 25. 34.

Heb. 12. 16.

Indeed profaneness, in our usual apprehension and language, is now-a-days restrained to the fury only of that wicked brood, whose irreligious humour is boldly to scoff at Heaven; and by their wicked and licentious mouths every where to set abroach what their untamed lust suggesteth to them. But there be more profane persons than they. Those that shut their mouths never so soberly, and yet carry the bit in their teeth within, that they may run where they list and have none of these laws, we preach to them to bridle them, and to keep them in, either to the shewing of any honour to God, or to the due performance of His worship and service, (which are the duties of this precept,) they come within the number of profane persons, express breakers of this commandment, as well as the rest; and though, peradventure, their sayings be not so open and so gross, yet, in another kind, their doings, their wilfulness, their neglect, their grudging, their contempt and slighting of things sacred, is as ill as theirs. This is their sin; and if the punishment were now added that of old was annexed to this sin, *ut ne profanus intra fanum venerit,* that they who so lightly regard their God, should have no benefit from Him, should never come into His courts, nor know what religion nor things sacred were, there might be some hope of amends; and yet the punishment most an end is slighted as much as the sin itself is, while common people account it rather a pleasure than a punishment to be kept from the temple; and therefore, if nobody will do it for them, they will do it without you of themselves. And think ye that they have a God that do so? Let them answer the prophet Malachi, whether they have or no. If He be a God, where is His honour? where the honour of His person, or the fear of His laws; and ye have scoffed, ye have snuffed at it, saith the Lord of Hosts. In effect, such men would be gods to themselves, and have none besides to govern them.

Mal. 1. 6.

The punishment we spake of before, of being kept from God or His worship, that care not for it, works but little. I will tell you of another kind of punishment usually annexed to this sin, more likely to work upon the common people, and to affect them to some better purpose than the other; it shall be corporal punishment, if that or the fear of that may do any good (for other punishment regard they none;) and with that will we end both this point and this time together.

The Scripture tells us of such sons of Belial that scorned all religion, and would have neither God nor Lord over them; and what became of them? the flood came and swept them away; the fire came and devoured them up; the sea opened and overwhelmed them all, the earth opened and carried them quick into hell. So heinous a sin was it, not to acknowledge their God, or to dally with religion.

Deut. 13 13. Judg 19. 22; 20. 13, & Gen. 7. 2 22. Lev. 10. Ex. 14. 2 Num. 16 32.

The historians tell us no less. Diagoras[c] was a professed atheist, we will not mention him; but Phericydes the Syrian, of whom Diogenes Laertius[d] writes that he was never so impudent as to deny there was a God; but one day making jollity among his fellows, and boasting that God never got either prayer, or offering, or gift, or sacrifice from him, the word was no sooner gone from him, but as Herod in the Acts, he was smitten by an Angel of God, and eaten up with lice. Lucian[e] was another of the brood, a profane scoffer that neither regarded God nor any of His precepts; being once abroad and having newly vented his scorn of religion, to others that stood by, the very dogs (wherein his chief delight was) being fast shut up at home, brake all loose on the sudden, and came and tare him in pieces. Julian[f] the apostate was such another as he; his lewdness this way was notorious, his end was no less, when in his army being stricken with an arrow, he rent out his own guts with it, and cast his blood into the air with blasphemy. I could tell you of the Florentine[g] abroad that rotted away by piece-meal, and of Hacket[h] here at home, that would needs have no other

[c] Diagoras, atheos qui dictus est, posteaque Theodorus, nonne aperte deorum naturam sustulerunt? Cicero de natura Deor. I. i. § 23: see also § 42.

[d] Diog. Laert. i. 74, edit. Meibomii, Amst. 1692.

[e] See Suidas in voc. Λουκιανός, ii. 457, edit. Cantab. 1705.

[f] Sozom. vi. 2. p. 220. edit. Reading.

[g] Namely, Machiavelli; see Bayle's Dict. p. 2079, edit. 1710.

[h] See Camden's Annals of Elizabeth, in Kennet's Complete History, ii. 563, 564.

SERM. IX. God but himself, and died upon the gibbet, no wretch more miserable. I say no more, but *fælix quem faciunt*, and that which the heathen man set upon Sennacherib's tomb[1], ἐς ἐμὲ τὶς ὁρέων, εὐσεβὴς ἔστω. Whosoever sees or hears any of these, let him learn to acknowledge a God, to have Him in regard, and to be ruled by His laws; which God of His infinite goodness grant that we may, and by the power of His grace and Spirit work in us effectually to perform, even for His mercy's sake in Christ Jesus. To which undivided Trinity, three persons and one God, &c. &c.

[1] Herodot. Euterp. 141.

SERMON X.

PRÆCEPTUM PRIMUM, CONCIO SECUNDA.

EXODUS XX. 3.

Non habebis deos alienos coram Me.

Thou shalt have no other gods but Me.

THREE propositions we set forth, as naturally arising out of this precept. The first out of the word *habebis*, that we must have a God, have Him in honour and regard, have Him in account and estimation far above ourselves, and above all things that we have besides. This the duty commanded, opposed to the sin forbidden, the sin of atheism and profaneness, whereby every one becomes a God to himself, and will be tied to do no more than what seems good in his own eyes alone. And thus far are we gone already, neither love we to go backwards, *nec repetere gradum.*

We go on therefore to the second proposition, out of the word *Me*. That it is not enough to have, unless we have the true one; that instead of the right we set not up a wrong god; and where we should betake us to the verity of religion, we fasten not upon a false worship, and a fond religion, that God never taught us. This the duty that we are to learn to-day, wherein we shall have somewhat to say of the heathenish, and somewhat of the Romish superstition and impiety abroad, somewhat also of our own impiety and superstition here at home. Against all which this precept goeth forth. Against their idolatry, (so I will be bold to call it now, and prove it afterwards,) their idolatry, I say, in deifying men; in believing, trusting, honouring, invocating, some of them more than they do God Himself. And then

SERM. X. against the relics of our own impiety; for some relics we have among us, (it cannot be denied,) as well of the heathenish as of the Romish superstition, left still in our corrupt and depraved affections, specially in the affections of the common people, such as some of you are, who be most rude and ignorant, and, as ye say, will needs do as your forefelders did, though they deified their own fancies, and made more account of an old beldame's[1] charm and a wizard's divining of things to come, than of all the oracles and laws of God whatsoever. And here we shall have somewhat to say against your custom of seeking after soothsayers and witches, with other fond and superstitious observations among you; whereby ye transfer that power and honour to another thing which properly belongs unto God; and therefore shall stand indicted as open offenders against this statute, the first commandment of the law. Of these we are to say. But to the end that what we say may be to the honour of God, and to the amendment of our own faults, I shall, &c. &c.

[1] a grandmother: see Nares.

THE BIDDING OF THE COMMON PRAYERS.

Pater Noster.

Non habebis deos alios præter Me. The meaning is, that any God, or any religion, will not serve us. The duty is, that we seek out the true one; that we set not up a false God to worship, nor a wrong religion to follow. For there be many religions, and many gods abroad in the world; and yet among them all, there is but one God, and one faith, and one religion to hold by.

(1.) And first, I shall not need to say much about the heathenish impiety, the gross and brutish idolatry that the nations of old, and many of them at this day, commit against this first commandment. It is strange to see and fearful, how the devil blinded them, through ignorance and madness together. They set up every one his own god, nay and every one his several gods too, for all the purposes he had under heaven. One god for his country, and another for his house; one for his purse, and another for his paunch; they never had gods enough; and any thing that would do them good, or that they thought might do them any hurt, whether it

were man or beast, the stars above, or the very creeping worms and herbs below, to that would they offer sacrifice, and pray as devoutly to it, as if all their woe and welfare had depended upon it. An idle and an ignorant, and yet a covetous and a base people were they, from whence all this impiety proceeded.

The relics of which impiety are not yet rooted out: τὸ γὰρ τρέφον με, said he in Euripides, and by this we get our living, as said they in the Acts, are two rules that square men's religion still; and any thing that will do them good, they are ready yet to offer it what sacrifice you please. Hecub. 1. 1116. (?) Acts 19. 25.

But one thing I would have you heed; it was for want of knowledge that this impiety got head; they were not diligent to find out the true God, and the right way to worship Him, and therefore they were content with any, the next that came to hand.

In hac fide natus sum, in hac moriar, as Auxentius[a] was wont to say, so did his elders before him, and there was all the care he took. This was their case, and it is to be feared lest the devil should make some of your cases alike, while they among you that are ignorant will be ignorant still, and take no thought (so they may live and like) either what god they serve, or what religion they profess.

(2.) We come to another impiety, that hath been the offspring and issue of this; the impiety of some Christians (I mean the Papists) that are ready to persuade some of you to their own errors, and say that this is none of God's commandments; and that, I know not what or how many saints may be worshipped and prayed to, as well as He. Wherein that ye may conceive the vanity of that part of their religion the better, I will take the pains to compare it with this kind of superstition, which of old time was used among the heathens, against whom this precept of God went forth.

The variety and multitude of the heathen gods was great, (above whom, notwithstanding, they acknowledged one supreme lord, as the Papists do,) but for their inferior gods, that, as they said, were better at leisure than he, would be sooner spoken to, were his favourites, would take care of what

[a] S. Hilarii Opp. col. 1270, ed. Par. 1693.

SERM. X. they wanted here below, of these, saith St. Austin[b], thirty thousand may be numbered; and his author was Varro. Some of these were to teach them the secrets of nature, they dwelt in an upper mansion (they say) above the sun; and others to expound them their dreams and fancies, these they placed a rank lower, and said they had not so great a power as the rest had. So some they called *dii majores*, the ancient and the great gods, they that were over many nations and countries together; others but *dii minuti*, and *ascriptitii*, that were but lately let into the number, and had but the care of men's persons, or their families, and towns at the most. So that among them all, distribution was made of the whole world to govern it; some to help men by sea, and some to have a care over them at land; some to dwell within their woods, and others to be placed over their cities; some for regions and provinces, and others for families and private houses; one for their corn, and another for their cattle; the rich, the poor, the artificer, every one had his god.

For all the world as the practice is in Popery[c], where for every region, city, and family, for every man, and every state and profession of men; for every fruit of the earth, every beast of the field, every disease of the body, they have appointed a peculiar saint, to whom they pray as devoutly, and from whom they expect help and defence as securely, as from God Himself.

So the Spaniards call upon St. James, and the French upon St. Denis; the Germans they call upon St. Martin, and the Hungars upon St. Lewis, as of old the Scots did upon St. Andrew, and the English here upon St. George. These for countries; in cities, at Milan, St. Ambrose is their patron, and at Colon[1] the Three Kings; at Auspurg[2] St. Hulderic; and otherwhere St. Quintine, St. Valentine, St. Thomas, St. John; here at home, St. Brandon[d] and St. Cuthbert[e] have been deified.

[1] Cologne.
[2] Augsburg.

The mariners they call upon St. Nicholas, and St. Christopher; the physicians upon St. Luke; the lawyers upon

[b] S. August. de Civit. Dei, iii. 12: vi. 2, &c.
[c] See Gerhard. Confessio Catholica, p. 1006, edit. 1679.
[d] St. Brendan was the patron saint of Branspath, where this sermon was preached. See Hutchinson's Hist. of Durham, iii. 312, ed. Carlisle, 1794.
[e] The patron saint of the diocese of Durham.

Ivo, the gentlemen upon St. George, the tradesmen upon St. Loy, St. Crispin, St. Gutman, St. Eustace, and a hundred more besides.

The care of their vineyards they commend to St. Urban, of their horse to St. Loy, of their hogs to St. Antony, of their oxen to Pelagius, and of their pullaine[s] to Wendelin.

[s] poultry. See Nares.

When[f] they would not have their corn hurt by tempest they hold up and fall down to St. John the Evangelist; when they fear burning by fire, St. Agatha is their goddess; and when they fear the plague, they run to St. Sebastian for mercy and pity to be shewn upon them; when they are troubled with a fever, they call upon St. Petronelle; and when their teeth pain them, they bemoan themselves to St. Apoline. St. Felicitie is called upon for children, St. Margaret for a safe delivery, and St. Barbarie for a good departure out of the world. It were infinite to number up all. But I trow this is sufficient to shew their vanity, their impiety, their manifest contempt and breach of this precept, when they have so many gods to run to, so many helpers to trust to besides One; and let no man deceive you, they that hold of this religion, they hold of a wrong one, and one that will deceive them all at last.

Neither shall their distinction of 'oblique' and 'relative,' of indirect and transitory, of secondary and mediate prayers serve their turn, for the world can never be got to believe that oblique and relative prayers (such as we would use to holy men here upon earth) is all that is sought for, seeing it is most evident, both by their practice abroad, and their continual use here at home, to pray directly, absolutely, and finally to their saints, as to them that had as much power as God Himself, to give and forgive them what they will ask[g].

[f] Compare with this, the following extract from White against Fisher, p. 344, fol. Lond. 1624.—Apollonia is for the toothache, Otilia for bleared eyes, S. Rochus for the poxe, Erasmus for the iliac passion, Blasius for the quinsey, Petronilla for fevers, S. Wendelin is for sheep and oxen, S. Anthony for hogs, S. Gertrudis for mice and rats, S. Nicholas is the patron of sailors, S. Clement of bakers, S. George of horsemen, S. Eulogius of smiths, S. Luke of painters, S. Cosmas of physicians, &c. A similar but more extended catalogue is given by Gerhard, Locc. Com. de Morte, § 353, (tom. xviii. p. 69, edit. Cottæ,) too long to transcribe, but agreeing in most points with the particulars mentioned by Cosin.

[g] This is admitted by Azorius, Tholog. Moralis, I. ix. cap. 10. Sanctos non solum honoramus eo cultu quo viros virtute, sapientia, potentia, aut qualibet alia dignitate præstantes; sed etiam divino cultu et honore, qui est religionis actus. Nam ille cultus qui

SERM. X. They say to the blessed Virgin, 'O holy Mother of God, vouchsafe to keep us, we worship thy name, and that world without end; let thy mercy lighten upon us, as our trust is in thee.' And again, 'In thee only' (and what can be said more to God?) 'In thee only have I trusted, let me never be confounded[h].' This to her; and to others, *Tu dona cœlum, Tu perduc ad gloriam, pestem fuge, solve a peccatis,* in direct and plain terms, so absolute that I know not what can be more[i]; and sure I am, that we have no more for God, and for Christ Himself. Insomuch that we may be bold to conclude and to assure you all, that whoever they be that practise themselves, or persuade any other to use this kind of religion, they do it by some other precept, for precept of God have they none. Nay this precept, this command of His, is directly set up against them; and though the memory of the saints be precious among us, and ought so to be, though we honour their glorified persons, though we sing, and praise, and magnify their virtues, though we teach all generations to call them blessed, yet for all this, the commandment of God, and the glory of God, of their God and ours, is precious to us above them all, and so let it be for ever; and let all the people say Amen.

I have done with the impiety, the breach of this commandment abroad, and now I am loath, nay I am sorry to find any at home; but even amongst ourselves this precept is also torn in pieces, and religion suffers violence from many of our people, as well as it does from others, even in this very point of *Me* and *non alium;* for what shall we say other, what shall we otherwise conceive of them, who, when they have neither faith, hope, nor trust in God, know not His power, know not

viris primariis defertur, non est religionis, sed alterius longe inferioris virtutis, quæ observantia vocatur, actus et officium. Sed divinos cultus et honores sanctis non damus propter ipsos, sed propter Deum, qui eos sanctos efficit.

[h] The following extracts from the Psalter of Cardinal Bonaventura (in which the expressions applied by David to our Lord are adapted to the Virgin) bear out the accuracy of the statements in the text.

Domina mea, in te speravi; de inimicis meis libera me, domina. Ps. 7.

Conserva me, domina, quia speravi in te. Ps. 15.

In te, domina, speravi, non confundar in æternum; in gloria tua suscipe me. Ps. 30.

In te, domina speravi, non confundar in æternum; in tua misericordia libera me et eripe me. Ps. 70.

See further Gibson's Preservative, vol. iii. tit. ix. p. 32, &c.

[i] See Gibson's Preservative, vol. iii. tit. ix. p. 184.

His providence, nor have any care to learn them neither, (as it was Pharaoh's case and Saul's after him,) run to the soothsayers, and the woman witch of Endor, to ask help of the devil and so make a god of him. I trow this is as bad as popery, if it be not worse; and yet, as if it were good lawful Christianity among us, we run to a wizard, that they may ask the devil counsel for us, as readily, nay and a great deal more readily too, many of us, than we run hither to God. Ex. 7. 11. 1 Sam. 28. 7.

Two sorts of miscreant and wicked people we have; the first challenging and taking to themselves, the second attributing and giving unto others, that power which only appertaineth unto God.

For there are, who if any grief or sickness befalls them, if they happen to have any loss of children, or corn, or cattle, or other goods whatsoever, are by and by exclaiming and crying out that they are bewitched, that such a woman has done them harm, that such another can do them good; therefore to the one they seek for help, of the other they seek revenge. And all this while God's commandment is not so much as thought of, but to other helpers they run, as if there were no God in Israel, That ordereth all things according to His will, in Whose hands are life and death, sickness and health, wealth and woe, and Who hath therefore commanded us in all our necessities to resort unto Him.

And what a scandal is it to the Gospel of Christ, to the profession of our faith, that the glory and power of God should be so abridged and abated, as to be thrust into the hands or lips, or medicines, or charms of a lewd[1] old woman, woman or man, or whosoever; that the power of the Creator should be attributed unto any creature at all; that there should be such gross and reckless presumption, either in the one or the other, as to take Christ's office from Him, as to take upon them to heal and cure diseases, to foretell things to come, to tell the secrets of the mind, whereby He was specially known, and made known to be God; that if any happen to be somewhat strangely afflicted with diseases or torments, or losses, such as are described in the New Testament, we fly from trusting in the Son and power of God, to trusting in a witch, and believe in a charm, to rely upon the power of a beldame, and the cunning of the devil. And if

[1] ignorant

SERM. X. any thing happen well, presently it must be attributed to that kind of skill, but if all fail, they are yet ready to think they came rather an hour too late than went a mile too far; and truly if this be not to go a whoring after strange gods,
Ezek. 6. 9. I know not what is.

Sure I am it is the cunning and illusion of the devil, thus to infatuate and besot the minds of gross and ignorant people to the distrust of God, and to the destruction of their souls; for give it that by his wicked means, otherwhiles ye receive help, either for body or goods, what comfort shall ye have in them, what good get ye by it, to have your goods safe, and your souls in danger of eternal perdition and torment?

And let no man make excuse, that they think no hurt, that they do it for no ill, and that they would be glad to have help by any means they can procure; for in such cases as these, be it hurt, or loss, or danger, or whatever it be, from which they would be freed, they ought ever to consider and enquire of the means, whether they be good and lawful, or no, to be used; whether it be not against the will and honour of God, against the rule of Christ's religion, against this first commandment, against faith and a good conscience, and what other good means and remedies there be to help them, that are appointed of God and prescribed by His Church.

Of which remedies I shall give you the best. If any man
Jas. 5. 13. be afflicted, let him pray, saith St. James; let him give alms, let him fast, saith Christ, and though it be the devil that afflicts him, fasting and prayer will cast him out. If this means succeeds not, let him submit himself under the mighty
1 Pet. 5. 6. hand of God, saith St. Peter; let him bewail his own sins, that hath justly brought God's punishments upon him; let him come hither and learn what God's will and pleasure is; let him study to amend his life, to reform his wickedness, to love, to honour, to trust in God; and at last he shall find that these are the only remedies he can use[k]. For what great

[k] Videte, fratres, quia qui in infirmitate ad ecclesiam cucurrerit, et corporis sanitatem recipere et peccatorum indulgentiam merebitur obtinere. Cum ergo duplicia bona possint in ecclesia inveniri, quare per præcantatores, per fontes et arbores et diabolica phylacteria, per characteres et aruspices et divinos vel sortilegos, multiplicia sibi mala miseri homines conantur inferre? .... Et si adhuc videtis aliquos aut ad fontes, aut ad arbores, vota reddere, et,

marvel is it, if when men be blasphemers of God, take no care of His service, give themselves over to ungodliness and profane living, to adultery and fornication, to drunkenness and excess, to envy and malice, to deceit and cunning, to fierceness and wrath, to idleness and stealth, to frowardness and disobedience, (which are the common and usual sins that run among ye,) what marvel if after all this, besides the neglect of God's word, the abuse of His Sacraments, many of you provoke Him to plague you in your corn, and in your cattle, in your bodies, and in your goods, with divers diseases and sundry kinds of mischief. Therefore, as by the abuse of God's word and Sacraments (when ye will not be reformed and grow better by them) the devil is permitted sometimes by himself, and sometimes by his instruments, to bring griefs and calamities upon you; so by the good and holy use of them, it will ever be the best way to rid and remedy yourselves again. But for other fond and wicked means, whereof we have spoken, let it be accursed for ever, and sent back to hell, from whence it came.

Now besides this wicked distrust in God, and seeking after other remedies, there be other vain and silly observations whereby men also transgress this first commandment, and forget the power and providence of Him That made it.

Those they be, that by casting of fortunes, by chattering of birds, by viewing the lines of the hands, and other such unlawful and superstitious observations, take upon them to judge of men's acts and lives, and of other things to come; for what is this, saith the prophet Isaiah, but to make more gods than one; *Annunciate nobis quæ ventura sunt in futurum, et sciemus quia dii estis,* 'Take upon you to tell us beforehand, what things shall come after, and we shall say ye be gods.' It is God's office to do this, and none of yours. Is. 41.

And though it be common, yet it is a common sin among the rest of them that are transgressors against this commandment, to be superstitious and fearful, or distrustful of God, upon fond and idle observations, as at the crossing of the

sicut jam dictum est, sortilegos etiam et divinos vel præcantatores inquirere, phylacteria etiam diabolica et characteres aut herbas vel succos sibi aut suis appendere, durissime tanta eorum peccata increpantes dicite, quia quicunque fecerit hoc malum perdit baptismi sacramentum. S. August. Opp. tom. x. 222. edit. Paris. 1531.

SERM. X. hare and the stumbling at the threshold, to turn back and give over their journey. A number of such other vanities there are, which argue men's fear and distrust in God's providence, and therefore their contempt and breach of this law, whatever they say their forelders have taught them to the contrary. For they that trust to their own fancies, to old and foolish fables, more than they trust to God and His sayings, sure I am they are out here at *habebis Me,* they have Him not as they should have Him. I might now go on to divinations and astrology, but the stars are too high for your reach. I will therefore end this matter with God's own saying in ver. 10-12. Deuteronomy at the eighteenth chapter. Let no man ask counsel of them that use false divinations, or such as give heed to dreams, and to the chattering of birds; let there be no witch among you, nor any that asketh counsel of them that pretend to have spirits; for God abhorreth all these things.

And if there be any among you that are given this way, God give them grace to repent and amend; for both they that use it, and they that seek after it, or resort unto it, will in the end find themselves where they would be full loath to be found, even in the power of him upon whose power they depended here. Whereas they that trust not in him here, shall stand in no fear of him hereafter; but having God for their strength, and relying upon His will and providence alone, according to this His precept, shall at last be satisfied with the abundance of His mercies and goodness in His eternal kingdom of glory, which Christ, the King of glory, grant unto us; to Whom, with the Father, &c. &c.

SERMON XI.

BRANCEPATH, 1633.

PRÆCEPTUM QUARTUM[a].

EXODUS XX. 8.

Memento, ut diem Sabbathi sanctifices, &c.

Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day, six days shalt thou labour[b], *&c.*

THIS is the fourth commandment; there are three before it, that took order for the worship of God Himself, and for the honour of His name; this takes order for the public form of His worship and the solemnity of His honour; that it be not only done, but done at a set time, and upon the days appointed for it, when nothing else may be done; and done in a solemn assembly, and a full meeting of the people together, when they shall do it so much the better.

It is a commandment whereupon God hath bestowed some cost, urged it more fully, given more reasons for it, spent more words upon it, than upon any of the rest. And I trow, this is a sign that His heart is set upon it, that He will never endure the neglect of it; and therefore that whatever we do, we should be sure to remember and regard this as one of His

[a] Cosin's opinions upon this subject (which at the time when he wrote, had occasioned much discussion) are further illustrated by a letter from him to Dr. Collins, dated January 24, 1636, which will be found in its proper place.

[b] On a leaf before this sermon occurs the following passage. 'At the hearing of which text, it may be said by many, What need is there of it? and truly the less need the better.

But some need it that hear it here often, and regard it but little; and I have heard some say too, Why do we read so often? that put all the holiness of the day in hearing of the sermon, and then *Tu autem, Domine;* the day is at an end.'

SERM. XI. most special commandments; for which purpose He begins it with a *memento* too, so as He doth none of the other.

Therefore we divide the commandment into three parts, (I.) The precept itself, (II.) The illustration of the precept, (III.) And the reasons annexed and urged for the observance of it.

(I.) The precept in the first words, *memento sanctifices*, &c. 'Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath day.' (II.) The illustration, in the words after, *non facies omne opus in eo*, 'in it thou shalt do no manner of work; thou, and thy son, and thy daughter,' &c. (III.) The reasons, in all the rest of the words; one, because you have six days to do your own business in; another, because the seventh is none of yours, it is the Lord's day; a third, because God kept it holy Himself; and a fourth, because He hath also hallowed it, and appointed it to be kept holy by all others.

In the precept itself we have three things to consider; the *memento*, the *Sabbatum*, and the *sanctifices*. The charge first, in the word 'remember.' Then the charge of keeping a day of rest, on the Sabbath, the second word; and lastly, the keeping of it as it should be, keeping it holy, 'Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath day.'

In the illustration we have many things to look into likewise; and in the reasons more; which I will not specify nor mention now, lest we lose our labour, and you forget all before we come at them.

Of the precept itself, and of the parts of it, we will speak to-day; and that we may speak of them to the honour of Almighty God, &c.

THE BIDDING OF THE COMMON PRAYERS.

Pater noster.

(I.) 'Remember thou keep,' &c. We begin with the *memento*, which word, that the better notice might be taken of it, is emphatically delivered in the original, and doubled over for fear it should be forgotten or neglected by any. *Recordando recordere*, 'remember; and while you are remembering, remember still,' that is, remember so that at no time it may slip out of your memory, but that at all times you be careful

and diligent to keep it; to keep it in mind, that you may the better observe it in practice.

It is a vehement *epiphonema* this, like that of our Saviour in the Gospel, 'Let him that heareth hear;' to stir up the dulness of the ear, even while it was a-hearing; or like those frequent repetitions in our public service here in the Church, 'Let us pray,' and again praying, let us pray, that while we are at it, we be mindful of it, (as many of us are not,) and in doing of it, we do it indeed; this is *recordando recordare*. Mat. 11. 15; 13. 9, 4, &c. Lu. 22. 15.

A word and an item (as I said) of all the Ten Commandments set only at the beginning of this; as if God had made His choice, His special choice of this above all the rest, to put His *memento* here, which He would have them that have forgotten it, to call back into their remembrance well; and they that do remember it, never to forget it again.

Of God's choice to set it here I will shew you some reasons, and then proceed to that which follows.

(1.) There is not in all the commandments a duty that we are more hardly brought unto, than so to attend God's service, as wholly to neglect our own for it; no law we grudge, no commandment that we murmur and repine at so much as to leave all our own occasions, and come a mile or twain, or spend a whole day or two in a week to attend His; for that this is the duty of this precept, we will prove hereafter. In the meanwhile, we are naturally averse from it, so given to our own ways, to our profit, to our pleasures or to our ease, that we are ever ready to neglect, always willing to forget, what God would have us remember about it. This is one reason that God hath set His *memento* upon it.

(2.) Another is, for that this precept is the very life of all the Decalogue; by due observance whereof we come both to learn and to put in practice all the rest of God's commandments the better; and without which, in a short time, they would come all to nothing. For therefore is this time set apart, that people, among other ends, might meet together to hear the whole law of God, and by hearing what it is, learn to observe and do every duty that belongs unto it. But let it be as the world would have it, sit at home barely and take your ease; look to your own, and remember God's affairs that list; hear not of the Law and the Prophets, but

SERM. XI.

when ye are at leisure; listen not to the duties of a Christian above once or twice a quarter, as the lewd custom among a great many of you is, and see what your Christianity will come to, or what will become of all the duties of the Law, of all the sermons of the Prophets, and of all the service and worship of God in a short time. Certain it is, that through the neglect of this, all the rest of the commandments come to be neglected too, many duties of them not so much as known; and sure I am, most of them not so well put in practice as otherwise we might have hoped they would be. Remember this therefore, and the benefit of it will be, that it will bring all the rest of the commandments into your remembrance. So the *memento* set here, which is the life and the practice of all, is as much as if it had been set upon them all, upon every commandment by itself. And be this the second reason.

(3.) Ye shall have a third, and so we will leave it. There was at this time of giving the law throughout the world, a more general neglect of this commandment than of all the rest; other things they remembered, this they forgot, and therefore it was high time to put them in mind of it with a *memento;* they found time for every thing but for the public and solemn service of God; every day of the week they took to be their own, this day and all, and had quite obliterated, razed out of their hearts, that which the law of nature had written there from the beginning; that some time of the revolution, and a full sufficient time too, such as this is, was to be reserved and set apart for God Himself, not to be spent in any other service than His own. Which being now at the giving of the Law determined to the seventh day, the Jews kept it after their manner very strictly; but being since, at the time of the Gospel, changed to the first day, and that upon good ground too, (as afterwards ye shall hear,) in these latter days we observe it as loosely; insomuch as, if ever, it is full time now to renew and set the *memento* upon it again, 'Remember' that we keep it holy; for by our doings we seem, most of us, to have forgotten it full profanely. But then to see what poor excuses we make for our negligence, and to think that any answer will serve God's turn, this is worse than forgetfulness, worse than the negligence itself.

'Remember' it therefore to do it, and observe it, as Moses said; and because God hath set His heart and His stamp upon it, so to have it observed and advanced; set not you your foot upon it, so to have it contemned and trodden on. He hath committed ten matters of great trust unto you, these ten commandments, and all the duties that depend upon them; and in keeping of them there is great reward. Ps. 19. 11. He will recompense you largely for your pains; but above all the ten, there is one among the rest, this one, which with a *memento* doubled over, He recommends to your special regard and to your principal care. In anywise therefore forget not, neglect not, but remember that. And this for the *memento.*

II. Follows what we are to remember, *Diem Sabbathi,* 'Remember to keep the Sabbath day.' And a Sabbath day is nothing else in signification, but a day of rest; always provided (as ye shall hereafter) that it be no idle rest, but a rest from common affairs, that holy and sacred actions may be the better attended.

In this sense every festival, lawfully appointed, and made sacred, is a Sabbath; and by the moral virtue of this precept, even from this very word *Sabbathum,* we are bound to keep them every one. So were the Jews, all the rest of their feasts (which were called Sabbaths too[c]); besides their *dies septimus,* the day that is hereafter mentioned. And therefore he that translated these words, *memento diem Sabbathi sanctifices,* Remember thou keep holy the feast days, that is, every Sabbath or every feast day when it comes, was not so far out of the way, nor so wide from the true moral meaning of this commandment, (take it in the very letter,) as some men, *prima facie,* took him to have been. St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Ambrose may be as well found fault with withal, as he who hath expressed the commandment in the plural number, *σάββατα πάντα φύλατε*[d], &c. For if ye mark

[c] *Οἱ Ἰουδαῖου πᾶσαν ἑορτὴν σάββατον ὠνόμαζον, ἀνάπαυσις γὰρ τὸ σάββατον.* Theoph. in cap. 6. S. Lucæ, p. 341. Additional examples are collected by Suicer, under *Σάββατον,* I. ii. b, and Heylyn's History of the Sabbath, part i. chap. 5. § 2. p. 87. edit. 1636.

[d] *Σάββατα πάντα φύλασσε μετάρσια καὶ σκιόεντα.* Greg. Naz. in Decalogo, poem. xxxv. Nec sine mysterio hoc ab Evangelista secundum Matthæum et Marcum pure posita puto; quoniam sabbata perpetuæ feriæ sunt resurrectionis æternæ. S. Ambros. in Evang. S. Lucæ, Opp. i. 1363. edit. Bened.

SERM. XI.

it here, the word is put abstractly and at large, *diem Sabbathi*, not concretely and determinately, *diem septimum*, applicable therefore to any feast day or holy day whatsoever, as well as to it; though afterwards attributed more eminently to the seventh day among the Jews, which is here beneath called ver. 10. the Sabbath of the Lord, and to the first day among the Christians, which we call *dies Dominicus* too, the feast day of the Lord, the day of Christ's resurrection; to these (I say) more eminently, though not only to these, for there are more Sabbaths, more feast days than one.

And from hence we fetch the morality of this precept, that which the law of nature taught every man, even from the word *Sabbathum*, that there are days of rest and sanctity to be kept holy to the Lord, and that unto what day soever the *Sabbathum* is applied, upon any day that a holy rest is lawfully instituted and appointed, that day, so far as the institution goes, and so long as the appointment lasts, is to be kept sacred and holy to God. So the Jews were to keep their Sabbaths, and we our festivals, every one according to the laws and institutions that were made for them by God and the Church.

For as for the *dies septimus* here, the seventh day, whereunto the name of the Sabbath was afterwards given by way of eminence, we have nothing now to do with it, it expired with the Jews' synagogue; and *qua talis* (as we say) it belonged not to the moral law at all; but this did, that being then appointed for a Sabbath, as long as the appointment lasted, it was so to be kept; otherwise if the very particular seventh day had been moral in itself, that is, founded in the law of nature, it could never have been altered, but we should have been bound to have kept the Sabbath of the Jews still, we should have committed a deadly sin if we had not kept every Saturday holy day during our lives.

But that this was no part of the eternal moral law, and therefore alterable by the Church, we have the will of God Himself (besides other testimonies) declared unto us by His Col. 2. 16, 17. holy Apostle, 'Let no man condemn you in respect of a Sabbath day or a new moon, which are but shadows of things to come, but the body is Christ.' Yet for all this, when time was, the morality of this precept went along with their

Sabbaths and festivals, as it doth now with ours, with neither of them as the seventh day, or the first, but with both as set and solemn times exalted by God and dedicated to His service; so that not to have kept the Sabbaths then, had been sin to the Jews, and not to keep our festivals now will be sin to us. The one must be kept as well as the other; I say 'as well,' for the substance, though not alike for the manner and circumstance; for the Jews had their ceremonies, and the Christians have theirs, either peculiar to themselves, wherewith to keep their Sabbaths and holy days; as after we shall shew you.

Remember then that you keep the festivals appointed, is a good paraphrase upon this text, neither can I give you a better; for the Jews' Sabbaths are all gone, gone like shadows; and in sign that they are gone indeed, the very name of a Sabbath in regard of our festivals is gone away with them too; for ye shall not read in all the ancient writers for 1500 years together, that ever any Christians would use that name, (though in a few late writers, I know not why, it be again taken up[e];) but in place of their Sabbaths, the Apostles and their successors have instituted Christian festivals, of which the Lord's day is the chief, succeeding in the room of that which was also more eminently styled the Jewish Sabbath.

By this time then ye know what ye are to remember, and what to understand, by the Sabbath day.

III. Follows the end of remembering it, *memento ut sanctifices*, remember it to keep it holy. And then we only keep it holy when we apply it unto holy uses.

For ye must know that God hath dealt with this day, and other days made holy, as He hath done with men and other creatures; sanctifying some of them, and destinating them to a more reserved and higher use than that which is common. By nature all men are alike, so are all days; but yet for all that[f], there be some men separated from the vulgar sort and exalted above the rest, as magistrates and kings are, as priests and ministers of God are; we must not use them at

[e] Bingh. xx. ii. § 1, and especially Heylyn on the Sabbath, part ii. chap. 8. § 7, 8, 9, 10, where the revival and progress of these sabbatarian errors are fully exhibited.

[f] The remainder of this paragraph is repeated in the next sermon.

SERM. XI.

our pleasure, as we would use one of our own servants. It is alike with these days, which above all other days are made holy to God; the rest are like our own servants, we may employ them about our own affairs; but these holy days we may not be so bold with, they are set apart for holy uses, for God's service, they are none of ours, nor may they be employed about our own business. Take another resemblance that it may affect you the better. The water in baptism, the bread and wine in the blessed sacrament, naturally they are no more than other such elements are, but being consecrate and set apart once to these holy uses, for which Christ hath ordained and appointed them, *quis eum non lapidibus obrueret*, saith St. Chrysostom, what punishment should not he deserve, that would usurp them to common uses and profane them at his pleasure? As the water in baptism, as the bread and wine in the Eucharist, so is this day consecrate and set apart by the Church for holy and divine uses.

And what God hath made holy let no man make common, by applying or spending that time at his pleasure which God hath consecrated and dedicated and marked out for His service. It is of the nature of every thing which is hallowed, not to be used as other common things are, (Levit. 27. [28, 29.],) every thing separate from the common use must be holy to the Lord; not so much but the very fire-forks and the flesh-hooks, the meanest instruments that belonged unto the sacrifice, but they were forbidden to be put to any other use; the very snuffers of the temple not to touch another lamp, nothing that is sanctified to be profaned, that is, to be used as other common things are. Then this day (and none so highly exalted by God, so extraordinarily blest and hallowed above others) in nowise to be accounted as others are, but to make account of what days soever be ours, besides these that are dedicated and made holy, are none of ours, are none of ours no more than this temple is ours, are days with God's mark upon them, must be therefore, as this place is, accounted and kept holy. And take it for your rule, ye may as well profane and use this house of God at your pleasure—make it your workshop, make it your barn—as ye may take the liberty which ye do to profane and use at your pleasure, these holy days of God; the sins are both of one nature, and

Ex. 27. 3.

Ex. 37. 23.

therefore hath God also joined the duties together, ye shall reverence My sanctuary, and observe My Sabbaths. Lev. 19. 30.

This to persuade you that these holy days are to be, and must of force be kept holy, unless ye will commit sacrilege, and steal from God that which is His own. Now then to learn you how they are to be kept holy, is the next point; and all we shall speak unto to-day.

The keeping of these days holy in manner as we ought, respects both our public and our private duties.

The public first, enjoined and commanded under the name of *convocatio sancta,* in the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus and third verse: 'But in the day of rest' (that is, as is there expressed, upon every festival) 'shall be an holy convocation to the Lord;' that is, a meeting and a gathering together of all the people in the public place of God's worship, which is the church, there to do Him open homage and service, and (as we tell you here, before we begin the service) 'to render thanks for the great benefits we have received at His hands, to set forth His most worthy praise, to hear His most holy word, and to ask those things that are requisite and necessary, as well for the body as the soul.' This is the public duty of every day that is made holy.

For a private holiness at home will not serve, will not satisfy this commandment of God. It is a day we are to keep holy; let it be kept then as a day, in open view of heaven and earth; that, as by day-light, our holiness may be seen abroad, and let it not be kept as a night, shut up in our own houses at home, where nobody can see what our holiness is. The voice of joy and thanksgiving is in the dwellings of the righteous, saith the prophet David in the hundred and eighteenth Psalm, when he spake and prophesied of this very day. And in the dwellings at home (if it be there) truly it does well, but I fear in many homes there is no such holiness; but say there were, let us believe them, that they serve God at home (as they say) when they are not here, yet that home-serving would not serve the prophet's turn, not the service that was done in the very dwellings of the righteous; therefore at the nineteenth verse he goes further, *Aperite mihi portas,* 'Open me,' saith he, 'the gates of righteousness,' that is, the church doors, his own house, as holy as it was, ver. 15.

SERM. XI. would not hold him, but open the doors of the tabernacle of the temple, thither will I go in, and shew in the congrega-
Ps. 22. 25; 35. 18, &c. tion, in the great congregation will I praise and give thanks unto the Lord. A congregation, I say, and a great one, not when half the church is empty, but so great that it may *constituere diem solennem in condensis usque ad cornua Altaris,*
Ps. 118. 27. as in the Psalm he goes on, that the people may stand so thick in the church, as to fill it up from the entrance of the door to the very edge of the Altar; that is, from the very lowest to the very highest place of the church. This is that which God enjoins, *convocatio sancta.*

For this same home-holiness that is neither seen nor heard, surely there is some leaven of malignity in it; and He can no skill of it, likes it not, will therefore have it come forth, seen in the countenance, expressed in the view, heard in the voice, and not in the voice of the pulpit only, to come and hear a sermon preached, but in the voice of the choir too, of the whole congregation together, to come and with one heart and one mouth to set forth His most worthy praise.

They shall bring a sacrifice of praise into the house of the Lord, saith Jeremy, the seventeenth chapter and the twenty-sixth [verse], speaking of this very thing; and if they will not, says he, then will the Lord kindle a fire among the people, and it shall devour the palaces of Jerusalem, and it shall not
Mal. 2. 3. be quenched; or, as another of His prophets, *projiciet stercus solemnitatum vestrarum in facies vestras,* He cares not for our own private keeping of His solemn feasts, He will throw the dirt of them in our faces. Can ye offer your sacrifice at home, in what place you shall choose? but ye shall not do it, saith God Himself in the twelfth chapter of Deuteronomy and the eighth verse; what shall they do then? at the fifth [verse] ye shall seek and go to the place which the Lord hath chosen, to put His name there, and thither shall ye bring your service, and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God, ye, and your sons, and your daughters, and your servants, and there shall the Lord bless you. This is a plain place, applied by an ancient and a holy council, the council of Gangres, which was afterwards confirmed by an universal council, to the keeping of the Lord's day and other festivals among the Christians; and therefore they made a law

against them that presumed of their own heads to keep it otherwise. The law is worth the repeating. *Domos Dei honoramus, et conventus, qui in his fiunt, tanquam sanctos et utiles suscipimus, pietatem in privatis domibus non claudentes, sed omnem locum in nomine Dei ædificatum honoramus, et congregationem sanctam in eadem ecclesia* [*factam*] *pro utilitate communi recipimus*[f]. 'We honour the house of God, and the holy assembly there gathered in His name. We shut not up our holiness in our own houses, but we bring it forth into the place that the Lord hath chosen to let His name dwell there.' And in the end they doubt not to lay an anathema, a grievous censure, upon any that being able to come forth shall neglect the church and keep his own house that day, though he thinks himself never so well employed. And ye shall see the reason of this public assembling together, to set forth the service of God.

(1.) God shall have the more honour by it, more by a full congregation than by a few. The honour of a king is in the multitude of his subjects; when half the church is empty, as much as in us lays we rob God of half His honour; but if He be not duly honoured by any of us here, He will never be beholden to us for His honour; for whether we will or no, He will be honoured by us another way; either here, in our willing service; or elsewhere, in our unwilling punishment for neglect of that service: one of the two be we sure, and choose we whether.

(2.) It makes more for the good of the Church; the prayers are the stronger for it, they are carried up the higher, they pierce the clouds when they are sent up with a full cry of all the people together; whereas they languish, like the congregation itself, when they want half their company to help them.

(3.) Every private Christian is the better for it; he does his service with more cheerfulness when he has all his companions and fellow-servants to join with him in it; the worse

[f] The Latin version here followed is that of Dionysius Exiguus. The original text is this .... *τοὺς οἴκους τοῦ Θεοῦ τιμῶμεν, καὶ τὰς συνόδους τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἁγίας καὶ ἐπωφελεῖς ἀποδεχόμεθα, οὐ συγκλείοντες τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις, ἀλλὰ πάντα τόπον τὸν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκοδομηθέντα τιμῶντες, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ συνόδον κοινὴν, εἰς ὠφέλειαν τοῦ κοινοῦ, ἀποδεχόμεθα, ... can. xxi. Labb. Conc. ii. 424.

SERM. XI. a great deal if he wants them; dull and heavy at his work, ever ready to sleep, besides the evil example that he takes to be as negligent as he sees others be, and otherwhiles also to take the same liberty, and tarry away himself; which toy takes a many, I fear it will take them all together at once, one time or other, (as many holy days it does,) and so we shall have a goodly solemnity to celebrate God's festivals. Though truly to the infirm there must be some indulgence; but we are somewhat afraid for all that to open this door; for as soon as we do but open it for the infirm and weak, when they are out, there comes such a press of people after them that we know not how to get it shut again; for then we are all weak, all ill, and so all run through. The truth is, all are ill disposed, or else they would never make such poor pretences as they usually do. The rawness of the weather, the hardness of the way, the length of the journey, the least indisposition of the body, are with most of you now thought to be reasons sufficient enough to affront this law and commandment of God; and yet your own affairs, your own pleasures and customs, they shall not affront. The day before was a day for your market; perhaps the weather worse, the journey longer, yet that you could bear. This day is a market for your souls, and this place, hither you cannot come, could not, no by no means; you had endangered your health, and yet you would venture it for a less matter by far. So comes God's church, His market-place, to be the emptiest always of the two, to the shame of your pretended religion. Indeed he said well, if the people will not come, *satis unus, satis nullus,* let the priest serve God by himself, rather than God should have no service done Him at all; the brooks must run on in their channels whether the beasts will come and drink of them or no; and God must have His honour done Him, whether the people be pleased to assist at it or not. 'Well if one,' says the heathen man; but better a great deal if many, if all the people come together.

(1.) Better for the reasons we have given already, and for these besides. In regard of the Church's uniformity, that they may all be known to be of one and the same mind, of one and the same religion, that they keep one profession of their faith; and therefore it is said of the very first Christians

of all, as a true note of their holiness and religion, that they were all together with one accord in one place. Acts 2. 1.

(2.) Then in regard of the commonwealth, whose blessing it is when God maketh men to be of one mind in this house; whose strength and stay it is, when God is duly honoured, as well as when the king is duly served and obeyed by all the people together.

(3.) And lastly, in regard of each private man; that here, hence, as from a store-house, he may fetch food for his soul, from the *nundinæ sacræ* he may fetch *commeatum animæ*, give praise and honour and obedience unto God, Who, in exchange, will give him knowledge to enlighten his understanding, and grace to reform his will, and assistance in plenty to resist the temptations of this wicked world. Which He grant unto us for His mercy's sake, for I cannot now, the time will not suffer me, to go any further. To God, &c., &c.

SERMON XII.

EXODUS xx. 9, 10.

Sex dies operabis et facies omnia opera tua.
Septimo autem die Sabbatum Domini Dei tui est; non facies omne opus in eo.

Six days shalt thou labour and do all that thou hast to do.
But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt do no manner of work.

SERM. XII.

IN the words before we had the precept itself, where we had three things to consider; the *memento*, the *sabbathum*, and the *sanctifices;* the charge first, in the word 'remember;' then the charge of keeping that day of rest, in the word 'sabbath,' under which were comprehended all other days solemnly set apart and appointed for God's service; and lastly, the charge of keeping both it and them as they should be kept, in the word 'holy.' 'Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day.' And so far are we gone.

In these words that follow we have both the illustration of the precept, and the reasons that are given for the due observance of it. The illustration, in *non facies omne opus in eo, tu et filius tuus, &c.* 'In it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter,' &c.; the reasons, *in sex diebus operaberis,* because you have six days for yourselves; and *in septimo die sabbathum Domini,* because the seventh is none of yours, but a day hallowed and set apart for the public and solemn service of God; therefore so to be kept by you, and not to be spent upon your own affairs.

More strictly we have in these words a double permission, and a double opposition. The double permission, (1.) 'six

days shalt thou labour,' (2.) in them thou shalt do all thy work; and the double opposition, (1.) 'the seventh day is the Lord's,' (2.) 'in it thou shalt do no work.'

Both which how they are to be understood, we shall by and by enquire; if first, I have put you in mind to call with me upon God the Father, &c.

THE BIDDING OF THE COMMON PRAYERS.

Pater Noster, &c.

'Six days shalt thou labour and do all that thou hast to do,' which words are put here *permissive*, by way of indulgence and permission, to shew the great equity of the precept, that men being so liberally dealt withal, and suffered to have six days at home to themselves, they might have no excuse if they did not willingly and cheerfully come forth to serve God upon the seventh.

For if God would have used His own absolute authority and dominion over us, He might have set us, and justly required it of us, to serve Him all the seven days together, left us never a day for ourselves; or He might have taken to Himself six days of the week, and given us but one. And who could have said *Cur ita facis?*

This out of His sovereignty and greatness He might have done, and we could have found no fault with it neither; but since that out of His bounty and goodness He would not do it, what excuse can we find, or what strange injustice and wretched unthankfulness will it be in us, if, after so many days afforded us, we grudge to let him have the seventh, that one day that He hath reserved to Himself!

It is here as it is with your tithes; nine parts have to yourselves, the tenth is God's own. Indeed all was His, to have disposed of as He pleased, but this was His bounty to give you nine times as much as Himself; and he is either a wretch[1], or somewhat worse, that will grudge or defraud God of one in ten, deserves to have the nine taken away, and but the tenth left. Or it is as it was with Adam in Paradise, to whom God gave to eat of all the trees in the garden save one, kept but one from him among them all; whereas God might have kept all the rest to Himself, and given him but one,

[1] a nigg

Gen. 2.

SERM. XII.

but this was His bounty; in that to Adam, in this to us, reserves only one in ten in our tithes, one of seven in our time, to be bestowed upon His service.

Now in either of these if we afford Him not His own, it is turned with us from Adam's case to the devil's, who is ever and anon suggesting to us, as he did to him, that we should make no scruple of it, but take all to ourselves, go and eat of the forbidden tree and all; for believe it, God's portion, be it in His tithes, or be it in His times, both being holy to Him, they are as the forbidden tree in God's garden, men are not to meddle with them, nor convert them to their own uses; if they do, though the fruit be never so fair to look on at first, it will either choke them or poison them in the end. And though it be their own wives that came and persuaded them to it, (as such wives there be left still in the world,) yet let them assure themselves, they will find at last, (as Adam did at first,) it was but the very devil himself in their wives' likeness.

Gen. 3. 4.

Let the tithes go, and apply it to this precept, to these words we have in hand. A man has had six days in the week to himself, for his labour, for his profit, for his pleasure, for any of his own affairs. The seventh comes, the holy day comes, *dies quem fecit Dominus*, the day that the Lord hath made for Himself, the Lord's day comes; and then comes me the devil in the likeness of a rainy day, or in the shape of cold weather, or in the likeness of some business or other that is to be done, and tells him that God must let him have that day also, as well as the other six, or else all will go wrong with him. And what if it be forbidden by God's law? ye shall have one devil meet with him and say, 'Come, it is for your own advantage, you are a free-born man, and the law does but scare you. Take time while we have it; you may do what you list.' And what if it be forbidden by the Church? Ye shall have another devil stand by and tell him, 'What need have care for the Church? let the Church care for itself, it will have but one the less for thee; and for this time she shall pardon us.'

Thus we dispossess God of His right, and thrust Him from His freehold, while we have any list to take a freedom to ourselves. But believe it, this day of the Lord's is a day

hallowed and set apart from the other days; is a day forbidden us to use, or meddle withal, or spend any otherwise than He hath appointed. Therefore believe it also, that the best advice is, when any such suggestion comes, (come it by whom it will come, by Eve or the devil,) to give it that answer that Joseph gave to Potiphar's wife, 'Behold, all that is within the house, he hath left in my power, only thee excepted, and how then should I injure him in this one?' In like manner six days hath God given us to ourselves, reserved but one for some public and solemn honour and worship to be done Him every week, and how then should we deceive Him in this one, seeing by His goodness and liberality all the rest are ours? This were a good answer, and it is but just and meet it should be so; for you see the great equity of the precept, and the great indulgence shewed to us in it, that of seven parts of our time, we have six for our own occasions. We will conclude therefore with one of the Hebrew doctors upon this text, *cum omnibus diebus septimanæ homo sese occupet in negotiis suis necessariis, hoc die maxime consentaneum est, ut se segreget ac quiescet propter Dei gloriam,* 'It is most fit we should give God this day of the week for His service only, when we have all the rest for our own necessary affairs.' Gen. 39. 8, 9.

'Six days shalt thou labour, but the seventh day.' Nay, but now I think on it, before we can come to that day there comes one that bids us make a stay yet at these six, one and a thousand too, *nos numeri sumus,* a great company of them, as they said of themselves, that put the question home to us and demand of us full stoutly, what authority the Church hath to make any of these six days a holy day, or to restrain men from the liberty which God hath here given them, of bestowing six whole days of the week in labour, if they will? Mark 5. 9.

It is not, they say, in the power of the Church to command any days to be kept holy, wherein men shall be required to cease from their common and daily vocations. And for proof hereof, they desire to take this fourth commandment, and no other interpretation of it than that which we have allowed of ourselves; which is, that God licenseth and leaveth it at the liberty of every man to work six days in the week, so that he rest the seventh. Seeing therefore, that God hath left it to

SERM. XII.

all men's liberty, that if they think good they might labour six days, they say that neither the power of the Church, nor any power under heaven, can take away this liberty from them, which nevertheless, by appointing so many holy days to be kept as are among us, is frequently done. Nay, if it be lawful, they say, to abridge men's liberty in this point, and where God says here, 'six days thou mayest labour, if thou wilt,' the Church shall say, 'thou shalt not labour six days,' they see no reason why the Church may not as well command and say, 'thou shalt work upon the seventh day,' though God says upon it thou shalt do no work at all.

But if they can see no reason to the contrary of this, I dare say it is long of their evil eyes; as likewise that which they add, that they see not but if the Church may restrain the liberty which God hath given men, it may as well take away the yoke which God hath put upon them. And their conclusion is, that there is no power on earth that can take away this liberty.

Which assertion (though here applied no further than to this present case) extended once to many, will not only shake the universal fabric of all government and authority, but instantly open a gap, nay set open the flood-gates to all confusion and anarchy. For whereas God Himself hath defined things of greatest weight (such as this seventh day is,) and left all sorts of men in the rest to be guided either by their own discretion, if they be free from subjection to others, or else to be ordered and commanded by the laws of their superiors, under whom they live; these pleaders for freedom and patrons of liberty, would have it proclaimed to the world, that all such laws and commandments are void, which are made of things neither exacted nor prohibited by the law of God. Whereas indeed the very contrary assertion is certainly true; and we must either maintain that those things which the law of God leaveth at liberty are all subject to the positive laws and precepts of our government, or else we must overthrow the world and make every man his own commander.

Seeing then that labour is left free, and rest is left free upon any one day of these six by this law of God, how come they, or how can they exempt them from the power of

human laws, unless the world has no power to make any law at all?

I will put one question to them, and it shall be but one; the other holy days and feasts of the Jews, besides their Sabbath day, the feast of Tabernacles, of the Dedication, of Lots, were they not all allowed and approved by God? Had they not all and every one offended, that had refused to keep and observe them? and yet were they not an abridgment of the people's liberty in using all these six days of the week at their pleasure? There is no question but they were; and there is no answer to be given to these things.

For doth our Church in these things any otherwise than God and His holy saints have done before her? I conclude with the style of the councils[a], *Sequentes igitur et nos per omnia sanctorum vestigia.* Herein we do but tread in the steps of our holy fathers, and follow them that were followers therein of God Himself. And now I come to that which follows here in the text.

II. 'But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord; in it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates.'

Where what the seventh day was, and why it was called the Sabbath, I have told you before; shewing you what was moral and for ever to endure, and what was circumstantial, or alterable, in them both; that sabbaths, or days of rest to be kept holy to God, are of the moral law, and founded in nature; that one of seven is commanded of God in Scripture perpetually to be observed; that this one, as long as the Jews' synagogue lasted, was to be the seventh; that both it, and the manner of keeping it, being figures of things to come, were buried with Christ in His grave. Upon Whose resurrection, that there arose the beginning of a new day, which now we call the Lord's day, to remain for ever, and not to be altered. Wherein though Mr. Calvin and some other new writers dissent from us, (who say that neither one day of seven, nor yet that this day of the Lord, is so commanded or established but that it is still alterable by the Church, so that

[a] See Binii Conc., vol. v. pp. 428—430.

SERM. XII.

any other day may be kept as well as it[b],) yet I verily believe that both Scripture and Fathers are herein more plain for ours than for theirs, or for any other opinion whatsoever.

But herein we agree[c], that *qua talis*, the seventh day and the Sabbath belonged not to the moral law, that therefore both the nature and the name of the Sabbath is gone, and was not so much as used among Christians for 1560 years together, till now of late that some[d] men began to expound this commandment somewhat like Jews, not being content with the substance of it neither, but stretching out the very circumstances also, (many of them,) to a perpetual necessity and duty for ever. Which, why they do, and to what end they do it, (making almost a schism about it too, in many places,) I cannot tell. But this I know, letting them pass, I know what we are to do; that herein, as becometh those who follow with all humility the ways of God and of peace, we are to honour, reverence, and obey, in the very next degree unto God, the voice of the Church of God wherein we live.

And according unto the sound of that voice, which I have heard and listened to afore from the first, I shall now speak to you of this commandment like a Christian, and not like a Jew; that is, I shall neglect the Sabbath, with which we have nothing to do now, and set forth the religion of the Lord's day, *dies Dominicus*, as all our books call it; which all men are bound for ever with all holiness to observe.

Where first, we say that this day, in itself, is no more than any other days of the week be; all the days of the year, *qua tales*, are alike, and not one better or more holy than another. Whence then is the difference?

Ye are to know that God hath dealt with days as with men. By nature all men whatsoever are alike; so are all days. There[e] be some men separated from the vulgar sort and exalted above the rest, as magistrates and kings are, as

[b] See Heylyn's History of the Sabbath, part ii. chap. 6. § 7. p. 466. edit. 1681.

[c] See Heylyn, part ii. chap. 6. § 6. p. 465.

[d] The chief propagator of these opinions was one Dr. Bound, whose work upon the Sabbath appeared first in 1595, and again in 1606. See some extracts from it in the treatise of Heylyn, part ii. chap. 6. § 7.

[e] The whole of this paragraph is here repeated from the last sermon; see p. 159.

priests and ministers of God are; we must not use them at our pleasure, as we would use one of our own servants. It is alike with these days, which above all other days are made holy to God; the rest are like our own servants, we may employ them about our own affairs; but these holy days we may not be so bold with, they are set apart for holy uses, for God's service, they are none of ours, nor may they be employed about our own business. Take another resemblance, that it may affect you the better. The water in Baptism, the bread and wine in the blessed Sacrament, naturally they are no more than other such elements are; but being consecrate and set apart once to these holy uses, for which Christ hath ordained and appointed them, *quis eum non lapidibus obrueret,* saith St. Chrysostom, what punishment should not he deserve, that would usurp them to common uses, and profane them at his pleasure? As the water in Baptism, as the bread and wine in the Eucharist, so is this day consecrate and set apart by the Church, for holy and divine uses. And what reasons the Church had so to do, and to honour this day above others, I shall now shew you.

We commonly call it Sunday, the name that our forefathers gave it before they heard of Christ. For this cause we keep it not; it was the superstition of the pagans to institute it to the sun, and in that respect to esteem it better than all other days whatsoever. But this is the reason we keep it, and I will tell it you in St. Austin's words[f]: *quia hic dies per multa, eaque insignia et præstantissima Dei opera declaratus est sanctus et venerabilis,* 'because this day hath been made honourable and glorious, by the great and mighty works of God that hath been done upon it;' so that when the day comes, we do not so much observe the day itself, but

[f] Dominicum ergo diem Apostoli et apostolici viri ideo religiosa solennitate habendum sanxerunt, quia in eodem Redemptor nostræ a mortuis resurrexit; quique ideo Dominicus appellatur, ut in eo a terrenis operibus vel mundi illecebris abstinentes tantum divinis cultibus serviamus, dantes scilicet diei huic honorem et reverentiam propter spem resurrectionis nostræ, quam habemus in illa. Nam sicut ipse Dominus Jesus Christus et Salvator resurrexit a mortuis, ita et nos resurrecturos in novissimo die speramus . . . . . Ac ideo sancti doctores Ecclesiæ decreverunt omnem gloriam Judaici Sabbatismi in illam transferre; ut quod ipsi in figura, nos celebraremus in veritate. S. August. Opp. tom. x. fol. 238. edit. Paris. 1531.

SERM. XII.

we bring into our minds the mighty works that God hath wrought upon the day; for which works of His we are bound to worship Him as often as we renew the memory of them, and we are bound to renew the memory of them as often as the time returns; lest otherwise we should wholly forget them.

Therefore hath the Church of God with great veneration always observed this day, and so religiously above others, that to this only it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to them, to give it the name of *dies Domini*, 'the Lord's day.'

And what those works now be, wherewith it hath pleased God to magnify this day above the rest, and to set forth both His glory and His goodness to us, ye shall hear from St. Austin, as he had it from Theophilus, the president of a council in Palestine, *Venerabilis est hic dies* (says he) *qui Dominicus appellatur, et dies primus*[g], *&c.*

'This is a venerable day which we call the Lord's day, and the first day of the week, which indeed was the very first day of the world, and a day exalted by God's goodness, and wonders wrought upon it, far above any other day whatsoever. In it was the light created, which made the evening and the morning the first day; in it were the people of God delivered and set free from the bondage of Pharaoh; in it God rained down manna in the wilderness; in it was Christ born, was circumcised, was worshipped by the Gentiles, was baptized in Jordan; in it He did His first miracle and manifested forth His glory; in it He went in triumph towards His passion; and when they had slain Him and laid Him in His grave, upon it He rose again in greater triumph from the dead. Afterwards upon this day He appeared to His disciples, and upon this very day sent His Holy Spirit upon them all. Upon which day also we look for His appearance

[g] Dominicum ergo diem Apostoli et apostolici viri ideo religiosa sollennitate habendum sanxerunt, quia in eodem Redemptor noster a mortuis resurrexit, quique ergo Dominicus appellatur [see last note] Apparet autem hunc etiam in scripturis sanctis esse solennem. Ipse enim est primus dies seculi, in ipso formata sunt elementa mundi, in ipso creati sunt angeli, in ipso quoque a mortuis resurrexit Christus, in ipso de cœlis Spiritus Sanctus super Apostolos descendit, manna in eodem eremo primum de cœlo datum est. His enim speciebus ac talibus indiciis Dominica dies extat insignis. S. August. Opp. tom. x. fol. 238 b. edit. 1531.

again when He shall come to judgment, and raise us up, all that have served Him truly, to eternal life.'

These are all the words of St. Austin, all which, except that of the day of judgment, (which no man can tell,) are either expressly verified by the history, or generally delivered to be true by the consent of the Church in all ages before him.

But among them all, the chief and most singular is that mighty and glorious work of Christ in His resurrection from the grave, by which, *et mors interitum et vita accepit initium*, saith Leo; 'both death had an end, and life a new beginning.' And this is it which more solemnly the Church of God observeth every year upon the feast of Easter, the feast of Christ's resurrection; renewing it every week upon this day, if not with so great solemnity, yet with due honour and religion that becometh Christians, who live and die in hope also of a resurrection to a better life.

So have we the reasons of observing this day above all others, and of the Church's transferring the honour of the old Jewish Sabbath upon it; that as the one did continually bring to mind the former world finished by creation, so the other might keep us in perpetual remembrance of a far better world begun by Christ, That came to restore all things, and to make heaven and earth anew again.

To which if ye add the many figures that this day had in the Old Testament, and therefore (as St. Cyprian[h] and St. Austin[i] argue) must of necessity be kept in the New; and then the keeping of it, *de facto*, by the Apostles themselves, in the twentieth chapter of St. John, in the second chapter of the Acts, in the twentieth chapter of the Acts, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians and the sixteenth chapter, and the first chapter of the Revelations; besides the manifest and express places of Scripture, both in the Old and New Testament, that the Sabbath was to cease; then have ye all the reasons and causes why the Church of God, with great consent in all ages, hath thought itself bound to observe and honour this day; and not the day so much, as upon the day

[h] This argument is carried out at considerable length, with many illustrations, in the treatise De Sancto Spiritu, formerly ascribed to St. Cyprian. See edit. Baluz. cxlv, cxlvi.

[i] See the passage from St. Augustine already quoted.

SERM. XII.

to serve and honour God Who hath done so great things for us as ye have heard.

III. From the causes then of observing the day I come to the rules and manner how it should be observed; that is, how it hath been heretofore, and how it ought to be kept still; with what religion and strictness, with what devotion and gladness we are to celebrate this day of the Lord. Wherein I shall not meddle, I shall tell you beforehand, with the Jews' observances of their Sabbath, being for the most part shadows of things to come, and no ways pertaining to us further than the general rules of religion and moral duties will carry them. But I shall only shew you the laws and customs of our forefathers in the faith, by which they kept this day religiously from the beginning of the Church.

And of this there be many things defined in councils with great wisdom and sanctity, set forth in the Fathers and Doctors of the Church with great piety and devotion; all which, notwithstanding, may be reduced to two heads; to those things which are commanded, and to those things which are forbidden to be done upon this day. Of both which because the themes are large, and more to be said of either than can be said now, I shall, by God's grace, speak the next time. To God, &c.

SERMON XIII.

Exodus xx. 10.

But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man servant and thy maid servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates, &c.

You had the precept before that God's day was to be kept holy; and the reasons of the precept, why and for what cause it was so to be kept. In these words you have the illustration of it, how and after what manner it is to be kept; wherein what I promised before, I come now to set forth; and I shall shew you, as a true pattern for you to follow, what the laws and customs of the old Christians, our forefathers in the faith, have been concerning the religious observance of this day, and other such like, in the Church of God.

Of which divers things are recorded, not only by the ancient Fathers in their own writings, but by synods and councils likewise in the writings and laws of the whole Church; which being at the first but merely ecclesiastical, saving the foundation they had in reason and Scripture, were afterwards confirmed and strengthened by the imperial and secular laws of the state; that so, one way or other, or by all ways together, all men might be brought to the due observance, and holy keeping, of these days of God.

I reduce all to two heads; those things which upon such days are commanded, and those things which upon such days are forbidden to be done; by which, as by a corollary, we shall also see what is permitted to be done, and not so strictly prohibited as some surmise.

SERM. XIII. The things commanded I distribute into four heads, and they are the four properties of all solemn festivals whatsoever, sanctity, rest, joyfulness, and liberality; and the things forbidden into as many as be opposite to these, that is to say, profaneness, unnecessary labour, fasting and other signs of sorrow, sordid sparing, and other enemies of bounty and charity. Out of all which, the things that are permitted will result of themselves.

Now of these that we may, &c.

THE BIDDING OF THE COMMON PRAYERS.

Pater Noster, &c.

There is a certain observation of days and times which is impious, and therefore unlawful and forbidden; another there is which is natural and useful, and therefore permitted; a third which is religious and solemn, and therefore commanded. Of these three we are to set forth the last.

The impious and unlawful observing of days, is that which the laws of God and man have condemned, in wizards, and soothsayers, and in other superstitious and fond people, that have their good days and their evil days to observe by themselves; that tell us such a day is dismal, and such a time unlucky, I know not upon what fables and signs which conceit and folly hath taught them; attributing those things to fate, and fortune, and to the signs of heaven, with other such vanities, which belong properly to the wisdom and providence of God. And this is the observance of days and times, which Gal. 4. 10. St. Paul reprehended in the Galatians.

The lawful observance of days is that which neither regards the signs of heaven, to divine by them, nor the vain superstitions and fond conceits of men, to be ruled or awed by them; but observeth only the natural course and change of this inferior air, whereby the days and times and seasons vary so often, that of necessity regard must be had, and observance must be made, of some days more than others, of all in their divers seasons, for the despatch of common and daily affairs.

The last, which is enjoined and commanded, as it condemns the first, so it pertains not to the second, and indeed

is not so much an observance of the days themselves, as of some memorable thing that fell out and was done upon those days; the memory of any work, by the return and observance of that day whereon it was wrought, being always best and most securely preserved.

So the Jews were commanded to observe the feast of the Passover, the fourteenth day of the first month, let the position of the stars, or the face of the sky, or other observances be that day what they would; because that very day God smote the Egyptians, and passed over the houses of the Israelites; and again, enjoined to keep every seventh day of the week a Sabbath, as by this commandment; not that the Sabbath day differed any whit in nature from another day, but for that upon it God rested from His creation of the universe. As they the seventh, so we that are Christians the first, in memory of Christ's resurrection, and many other glorious and great works that were wrought by Him upon it[a]; which therefore, by way of a singular prerogative given to it above all others, we style, and usually call the Lord's day. Ex. 12. 6. ver. 13.

And this is that which St. Austin[b] says, we hallow the memory of God's benefits to His Church, with solemn feasts and set days; lest otherwise, through negligence and ingratitude we should wholly forget what great things He hath at those times done for us.

Now why God should choose this first day of the week, which we call the Lord's day, rather than another, wherein to shew forth such manifest signs of His power and goodness to us, it were a question vain and infinite; vain, for that no other reason can be given but His will and pleasure only, whereinto we are not to search; infinite, for that the self-same question would still remain, if God for that purpose had chosen any other day besides.

But this is the day which the Lord hath made, and made it so glorious and so venerable that thereupon the Church hath transferred all the glory of the other day, which was the old Sabbath of the Jews. The Sabbath then is gone, and the Lord's day is come in place of it, to be received obediently as the other, and to be observed too, religiously as the

[a] See the previous sermon, p. 174.

[b] See p. 173, note f.

SERM. XIII. other, though not with the same ceremonies, yet with the same substance that the other was.

And all this, by virtue not of any human constitution, but of the very moral law of God, whereunto we stand all bound; for suppose this Sabbath of the Jews gone, as it must be supposed, yet I trow that this will be granted me, that Christ hath left a power to His Church, the same that God left with Moses in the mount, for the tabernacle, to make and
Heb. 8. 5. appoint another day according to the pattern of the first.

That pattern was the life of this commandment; and the life and moral vigour of this commandment is, to have some days set apart for holy uses, and for the outward and public service of God. This is in nature, and in the moral law; which, if it were not written here, is written in every man's heart.

That such days then there must be, is moral. And this is moral, that all things in the service of God must be done in order, not that every body should appoint a day by himself; and this is moral too, that obedience must be given to superiors in those things wherein they are superiors. And therefore this also must needs be moral, that the observing of the seventh day then determined by God before for the Jews was moral to them, and that likewise the observing of the first day now, determined, if not by Christ and His Apostles, yet by our superiors, we are sure our lawful superiors in the universal Church of Christ, to whom we owe obedience, must be moral to us.

Therefore it was to the Jews as well moral to observe other certain days, which God and their superiors had determined, as to observe the seventh, or any day at all; for they were all called Sabbaths, though the seventh was more eminently styled so than the rest. And it is as well moral to us, to observe other days, which the Church and our superiors have commanded to be kept holy, as to observe this first; for they be all called holy days, though this Lord's day, by a special prerogative that it hath in Christ's resurrection, be more eminently styled so than the rest. And the reason is unanswerable, because by this or that limitation of a day, there is no morality infused or brought upon the day itself, but a former morality only awakened and revived, which consisteth

in a due obedience to God, and to the order of His Church, which is our superior in these cases.

This obedience we are sure is moral, and this order perpetual; the order that is now, and ever hath been established since Christ's time, for the observance of this day; neither can we see any reason why it should, or why it can be possible ever to alter it again, unless men can bring Christ out of heaven into His grave again, and prevail with Him to rise from it upon some other day, since the day itself is founded, and, as St. Austin speaks, hallowed and made sacred, by the day of Christ's[c] resurrection, which was the first day of the week, the day that we now observe.

Wherefore we must needs depart from that error, which some heretics of old began, and some of late have endeavoured to revive, that because the old Sabbath is called *pactum sempiternum*, therefore we are bound to keep it still, the Saturday for the Sunday, or the Sunday for it, or the one at least as well as the other. For to that objection of *pactum sempiternum*, any of St. Austin's answers will serve, either that it is called everlasting because it signified an everlasting rest, or else because it bound the Jews everlastingly, that is, as long as their religion stood, and might not be intermitted, as some other ceremonies of theirs were. Ex. 31. 13.

But their Sabbaths bind not us, neither one nor other, we depart from them that think so. And so we do from them who think we are bound to no festival days at all, or at least to none but one, which they call the Sabbath, and we, more properly, the Lord's day; seeing the command of our lawful superiors is upon us far more, to which we owe obedience, as we have said, even by the moral law.

And now I come from keeping these days, to the manner and due order of keeping them aright, according to the laws of God and His Church. Wherein, though I would have my discourse chiefly and primarily referred to the Lord's day, yet I would not have other holy days excluded, that are appointed by the Church, and by the laws of the kingdom besides.

II. Among the things commanded, sanctity is the first, that they be kept holy.

[c] See p. 173, note f.

SERM. XIII.

(1.) Which will then be done, if both in public and private we perform those holy duties that belong unto them.

In public, to come and meet together at the church, to make an holy convocation to the Lord, as upon such days Lev. 23. 3. Himself enjoins, there to celebrate divine service in the public place of God's worship, and to do Him open homage in the sight of all men; in brief, there to do as we tell you and invite you to do here, when first we begin to assemble together; that is, first to acknowledge, and with an humble, lowly, penitent and obedient heart, to confess our manifold sins and wickedness, without any dissembling or cloaking of them, to the end that we may obtain forgiveness of the same, by God's infinite goodness and mercy. To which end, first you make your confession, and we as God's ministers pronounce the absolution;—then, to render thanks for the great benefits which daily we have received at His hands, and to set forth His most worthy praise,—for which purpose the Church hath next appointed us our psalms and our hymns, to be said and sung in their order;—after this, to hear His most holy word, and to learn your duties from what you hear, not only in the sermon, which is an explanation of His word, but in the lessons and the gospels too, which are God's word itself. And lastly, to ask those things which be requisite and necessary, as well for the body as the soul; and this in the litanies, prayers, collects, and supplications that follow. This to do both morning and evening, as the Church hath enjoined us; and besides this, to give attendance also to all other holy actions that are publicly done and performed in the church, but especially to the blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, which, for my part, I think the Church's intention is, as well for the honour of our Saviour, as for our own good and benefit, to have celebrated a little oftener than it is. I say, for the honour of our Saviour,—and we are at a holy work when we are honouring Him—not only because thereby we submit ourselves to His ordinance, that would have the memory of His precious passion daily preserved till His coming again, but because in this service we honour those things in Him, which all the rest of the world besides despise and contemn,—I name the humility of His incarnation, the baseness and bitterness of His death,

the ignominy of His cross, the multitude of His sufferings—all which we honour and adore,—though other miscreants of the world abhor them, and scorn our Saviour for them—in using and frequenting this holy Sacrament. And it is to be lamented, nay and I trow it is to be amended too, that we honour Christ no oftener this way. Had St. Chrysostom lived among us, he would have complained most bitterly against us, not only for defrauding ourselves of many graces and helps, that might come to us by the frequent use of it, but also, and that chiefly, for despoiling Christ, as much as in us lies, of His highest and most peculiar honour that He hath reserved to Himself, *et cum sit panis quotidianus facitis Eum panem annuum*[d], as he said, 'What, come ye once a year to your daily food?' he speaks of the Sacrament, which was then called *panis quotidianus*[e], as well as our own that we feed our bodies with daily; but feed our bodies no oftener with the one than usually we do now our souls with the other, and I trow they will quickly famish. Neither do I know any reason why there should not as good care be taken for the soul, and the due honour of Christ, as there is for the body and the daily respect that we give, and look to be given to ourselves. Sure I am this would keep the day more holy than it useth to be kept without it, for it would be *sancta sanctis*[f], men would study and give themselves to more holiness upon it; and I would it were so, that the holy Sacrament might always and ever accompany this holy day[g], and some of you at one time and some at another might assist at that holy, the holiest of all holy services. And this now for our holy duties in public.

Besides which there is somewhat to be done in private, that must tend to holiness also, and to the sanctity of the day; for to be holy in the church, and unholy at home or abroad, is just as much as to say, *Ave, Rex Christe*, and then to spit in His face; to cry Hosanna to the Son of David, in

Mat. 27. 29.

Mat. 21. 29.

[d] See Bingham, xv. 9. § 2.

[e] Ibid.

[f] Probably suggested to the mind of the writer from having formed part of the service of the Mass according to the use of Sarum.

[g] Quotidie Eucharistiæ communionem percipere, nec laudo nec vitupero. Omnibus tamen dominicis diebus communicandum suadeo et hortor, si tamen mens sine affectu peccati sit. Gennad. Massil. de Ecclesiæ Dogmat. cap. 53. p. 31. edit. Hamb. 1614.

SERM. XIII. Mat. 27. 33.

the temple, and then to crucify Him at Golgotha, as the Jews and miscreant people did; therefore, to keep the day holy in private too.

And that, by instructing both ourselves and our families in the ways of God; by reading, praying, and meditating upon such things as we have learned, for the good of our souls, for the correcting of our former sins, for the amendment of our lives, and for the exercise of all other spiritual virtues, and good deeds whatsoever.

But in the meanwhile ye shall know, that though this private holiness and service be good and godly, yet that ye do not your duties unless ye attend the public besides; for God and His Church will have neither of them to go alone.

The voice of joy and thanksgiving is in the dwellings of
ver. 15. the righteous, saith king David, when he prophesied in the hundred and eighteenth Psalm of this very day. And truly in the dwellings of the righteous at home, if there it be, it does well, though I am afraid lest in many of our houses there be no such holiness; yet put the case there be, let us believe men when they say they serve God at home, though they be not here at His church, the prophet will tell us that that home-serving will not serve God's turn; He must have it in *atrio sancto* too, in His own dwelling, as well as ours. And therefore at the nineteenth verse he goes on and says *aperite mihi portas*, go and open me the gates of righteousness, that is, the church doors, that he might come and enter into the courts of the Lord; his own house, as holy as it was, might not hold him, but he would go into the tabernacle of God, and fall down low before His foot-
Ps. 22. 22. stool, even in the midst of the congregation, he calls it the great congregation, in reference to the great solemnity of the day; when indeed he would have it so great that it
Ps. 118. 27. might *constituere diem solennem in condensis, usque ad cornua Altaris*,—they are his own words—fill the Church so full, as that the people might be seen to stand thick in it, from the very entrance of the door to the very edge of the Altar; that is, from the very lowest to the very highest place of the church. And let this be enough for the first rule, that these days be kept with sanctity and holiness, both public and private.

(2.) For the better observance whereof, follows the second thing commanded in the keeping of this day; which is, rest from our servile and unnecessary labours.

Which rest, if we consider it alone by itself, is not properly any part of the sanctification and holiness whereof we speak, but a means and help only to the readier practice and more free performance of it.

And a good means it is; for if we be taken up with other worldly and ordinary employments, how can we attend the service and holy things of God? Therefore, to rest this while from them, that we may be the more free both in body and in mind to be at God's commandment, and wholly to addict ourselves to the knowledge, contemplation, and practice of spiritual and heavenly duties, so to rest that nothing may trouble or hinder us from doing God both the public and private service that He and His Church requireth at our hands.

And this is that which the Psalmist speaks, *vacate et videte*[h]; first *vacate*, rest from your bodily labour, to distinguish the day; and then *videte*, come hither to behold God's presence in holiness, to sanctify the day; so that in keeping of all holy days, there is still a *cessate*, a rest from bodily and servile labour. For ordinary labours are both in themselves painful, and base also in comparison of festival services done to God; in regard whereof the very natural difference between them must needs enforce that the one should submit and give way to the other, because neither of them can concur and be done together. And besides of rest for this purpose, all that ever made trial what it was to have the soul busied in high matters will certainly say, as the philosopher said truly, *postulandis esse secessum ut melius intendamus;* we must give over other cares, if we mean to intend these here as we should do. Ps. 46. 10.

By all which ye see here that we take not rest for idleness. They are idle, who to avoid painfulness will not use the labour whereunto God and nature hath bound them; they

[h] Cum enim Sabbato significetur spiritalis requies, de qua dictum est Psalmo 45. (46.) 10, 'Vacate et videte, quoniam Ego sum Deus,' et quo vocantur homines ab ipso Domino dicente, 'Venite ad Me, omnes' &c. S. August. Epist. 119. ad Januar. § 12. Opp. ii. 103. ed. Bened. 1700.

SERM. XIII. rest, which either cease from their work when they have done it and made it perfect, or else give over a meaner labour because a worthier and a better is to be undertaken. And of this latter sort is the rest that we speak of, and is requisite for the better keeping and sanctifying the holy days and festivals of God. So have you the two first, sanctity and rest.

We come to the other two properties, joy and bounty. For the days which are chosen out to serve as public memorials of God's mercies to us, ought to be clothed with those outward robes of festivity, whereby their difference from other days may be made sensible.

(3.) And that joy and gladness is one of these, we have
Ps.118.24. express Scripture for it, from the mouth of the prophet David, 'This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it;' and from the mouth of God Him-
Lev.23.40. self, 'In your solemn feasts ye shall take of the goodly fruits, and branches of the trees, and you shall eat your bread with joy, and rejoice before the Lord.'

According to the rule of which general directions taken from the law of God, the practice of the Church hath ever been guided; that is, in regard of the natural fitness and decency of the thing itself, and not with reference to any Jewish ceremonies, such as were properly theirs, and are not by us expedient to be continued.

But this of joy, is so expedient and natural for a festival solemnity, that without it, it seems no feast at all, seems rather one of those black and dismal days, wherein well may we be humbled with sorrow and fasting, for some punishment that justly befel us upon the day, but acknowledge no benefit or great work of Christ, such as was done for us upon this day.

Fasting then, and sitting all day pensive and still upon Sundays, as the use of some[i] is, is no good Christianity[k], is unnatural and no way suitable to the honour of the day, nor no way decent in itself, neither; because, while the mind hath just occasion to adorn and deck herself with gladness,

[i] See Heylyn on the Sabbath, part ii. chap. 8. § 8.

[k] See Bingham, xvi. 8. § 3, and xx. 2. § 5, and Heylyn on the Sabbath, part ii. chap. 3. § 8.

as upon the apprehension and meditation of Christ's benefits this day it hath, the need of sorrow and pensiveness becometh her not[l].

(4.) To joy and cheerfulness we add bounty and liberality, which is required in them that abound, partly as a sign of their own joy and thankfulness to God, expressed by any oblation to Him, and partly as a means whereby to refresh the poor and needy; who being, especially at these times, made partakers of relaxation and joy with others, do the more religiously bless God with us, and the more contentedly endure the burden of that hard estate wherein they continue. Neither did the old Christians, that were any ways able, think any Lord's day, or other holy day, rightly observed by them, wherein they brought not their offering to the Church[m], in sign of thankfulness to God, and gave not their alms to the poor[n] besides, in sign of amity and love to their brethren. For which we have express Scripture also, both from the mouth of God, 'Ye shall not appear before the Lord empty;' and from the mouth of St. Paul, 'Laying aside every first day of the week (which this day is) for the necessity of the saints.' This was the manner of keeping holy days in old time; and all these things that ye have heard commanded, as properly belonging to them, but especially and above all to the Lord's day.

Deut. 16. 16.

1 Cor. 16. 2.

III. And now by these things that are commanded ye may easily collect both what is forbidden, and what is permitted.

(1.) Forbidden first, profaneness, unholiness, the opposite to sanctity; all sin and wickedness in private, all careless and retchless[1] attendance of God's holy service in public. Not that these are lawful or permitted upon any other day besides, but that upon this day we be more wary and cautelous[2], when we are to have our special conversation with God and His Church, than we use to be upon other days, when we converse with men and the affairs of the world. And be we all assured, that though sin and profaneness upon any day shall be punished, yet if it be not only done, but done upon this day too, it shall have a double

[1] heedless

[2] cautious

[l] S. August. Opp. ii. 53. edit. 1700.

[n] See Bingham, xv. 8. § 12.

[m] See Bingham, xv. 2. § 1.

SERM. XIII. punishment; one for the sin itself, and another for profaning the day.

So that against this commandment, generally, they all offend which will not cease from their own carnal wills and pleasures, but follow them on still upon the Sunday, as they did all the week before.

And they in special, that regarding neither the holiness of this day, nor the holiness of this place, come not at it to do their bounden duty and service to God, but pass their time either in idleness, or riot, or other vain and idle pastimes. St. Austin said well of them, these people keep not *Sabbathum Jehovæ*, but *Sabbatum Satanæ;* they keep holy day for the devil and not for God; and should be better employed, says he, labouring and ploughing in their fields, than so to spend the day in idleness and vanity; and women should better bestow their time in spinning of wool (*lanam et linam* are his words) than upon the Lord's day to lose their time leaping and dancing, and other such wantonness[o]. Therefore *qui vacant peccatis, nugis, choreis, spectaculis, in diebus Dominicis* are all, in St. Austin's judgment, breakers of this holy commandment of God and profaners of His festival. For following sins and wickedness, the satisfaction of men's own lusts, I told you he called it *Sabbatum Satanæ*[p]; for following idleness, and sport, and lewd pastimes, he calls it *Sabbatum vituli aurei;* they that skipped about the golden calf kept as good a holy day as these.

(2.) The next thing forbidden, which I can but name now, is servile and bodily labour; our worldly employments, though other days never so lawful, being the opposite to rest, and the hindrance of all religious exercises and public duties upon this day, as we have before declared.

They, therefore, that have herein contemned the ordinances of God and His Church, and whereas God hath given them so many days for themselves and their own affairs, must

[o] Dicitur tibi ut spiritualiter observes Sabbatum; non quomodo Judæi observant Sabbatum carnali otio. Vacare enim volunt ad nugas atque luxurias suas. Melius enim faceret Judæus in agro suo aliquid utile, quam in theatro seditiosus existeret. Et melius feminæ eorum die Sabbati lanam facerent, quam tota die in neomeniis suis impudice saltarent. S. August. de Decem Chordis. See also in Psal. 133, Enarr. 2. Opp. iv. 143, and Enarr. in Psal. 91. p. 737.

[p] So also St. Chrysostom, Hom. vi. in Genes. (ii. 45. edit. Francof.) cited by Bingham, xvi. 8. § 4.

needs make bold with this and profane it also, have ever been severely censured. And truly, the voluntary, scandalous contempt, such as otherwhiles we see among some of our people, of the rest from labour, by means whereof God is publicly served upon this day, cannot too severely be corrected and bridled. Nehemiah protested against them, and so do we, and so hath the Church of God, and the Christian superiors and governors of God's people ever done, pleading for the honour of Christ and for this day of His resurrection, in their sermons, in their laws, in their edicts[q], everywhere most fully and religiously. I thought to have produced them now, but I think I have said enough for once, and the next time by God's help I shall end all.

Neh. 13. 15, 16, 18, &c.

To which God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, ascribe we, &c.

[q] See Bingham, xvi. 8. § 1; Heylyn, part ii. chap. 3. § 10.

SERMON XIV.

AT PARIS. CORAM DUCE JACOBO. SEPTEMBER 11, 1650[a]. [NEW STYLE.]

PSALM CXXIX. 5.

Confundantur omnes qui oderunt Sion.

Let them be confounded, as many as have evil will at Sion.

SERM. XIV. I HAVE read you a verse out of a Psalm which I find cited by an old provincial council of the ancient Fathers[b], as no [1]applicable less pertinent and applyable[1] to the Church in all ages under Christ, and so in ours, than it was in any age before under the Jews[c].

Where the Psalmist, as his manner is, compriseth under one, the type and the truth both; by those things which befel the people of the Jews in their Sion, shadowing and setting out those things which would afterwards and other- [2]Judæa whiles happen to the Christians likewise in theirs[d]; for Jury[2] was the scene, or stage, whereon the estate of us all—as we are a society, either in Church or kingdom—was represented to all posterity.

There is in it a prophecy, and a prayer[e], which belongs to

[a] This sermon was originally preached by Cosin 'at St. German's in France, October 22, 1645,' but the commencement abounding with interlineations and erasures, was transcribed before its second delivery on the occasion mentioned above. The more important variations between the two transcripts are specified in the notes.

[b] Which the ancient Fathers abroad, and after them an old provincial council here in France, have judged no less pertinent to the Church in all ages.

[c] Mystice conveniunt hæc Ecclesiæ tum militanti, tum triumphanti præsertim, in qua una est occupatio, negotium unum .... Sion et Hierusalem allegorice Ecclesiam istam denotant, anagogice superiorem illam cœlestemque. Lorin. in Psalmos, tom. iii. p. 715.

[d] Pro ecclesia proque cœlesti beatorum domicilio mystice passim exponitur, quemadmodum aliis in locis. Lorin. in Ps. 128. 5; tom. iii. p. 640.

[e] A prophecy of the evil and mischief that was like to befall both a

both, and are both directed against the enemies of
; the sum whereof is, that they who would have Sion
unded, that is, Church and kingdom destroyed, for Sion
th, may, by the grace of God, have the same mischief
d back upon their own heads, and so be destroyed and
unded themselves.

ıfundantur omnes, qui oderunt Sion. A prayer and a pre-
n both, for the words which we read here, both in our
ɜr and in our church Bibles, as a prayer, the translators
were wont to send us their Bibles here from France[f],
received it as a prediction; and, to do them right, so
might, and so may we, read it either way; either in the
ive, 'So let them be,' or in the indicative[g], 'So they
be[h],' for the verb in the original is of the future tense.
ndeed to express their optative, or their wishing prayers
ɔbrew, they have no other way but this, that hard it is
times, to say whether that which runs in the future
g them be a prayer or a prediction; and for aught I
, it must be left to our discretion to take which we will,
it may be both; as in the twenty-first Psalm, 'The ver. 1.
ıhall rejoice,' by way of foretelling, or 'Let the king re-
by way of wishing; and in many places besides. It
e best to take it both ways, so we shall be certain not
ıs the prophet's meaning. And though either be well,
indicative or optative, that both are best, for both are
true; it is both a good prayer, and a good prophecy;
will likewise sort well together by themselves, and
us, if the prayer does prove a prophecy, nothing better.
ur wishes, if they be in earnest, we would always have
ominous; and our prayers to be a kind of prediction

Church and an ancient king-
: Sion here is both, in times to
which were not much unlike to
ıes as these; and a prayer of
g that mischief back again to
:e and persons from whence it
hat they who by their fiery and
at Sion would have both the
destroyed and the kingdom
ded, may, by the grace of
ıve the same mischiefs upon
rn heads and be confounded
themselves.

[f] 'From Geneva.' The reading to which Cosin alludes is this; 'They that hate Zion shall be all ashamed and turned backward.'

[g] Imperative aut optative sumi hæc possunt, quamvis Hebraice sint futuri temporis verba in indicativo modo, Græce in imperativo. Lorin. in Ps. 128. 5. tom. iii. p. 640.

[h] See Poli Synops. and Hammond on this Psalm.

SERM. XIV.

Of this text then, we are to treat as a prayer, first, then as a prediction.

A direct prayer it is; but that is not so much, the manner of it is all. And there be two manner of prayers, either for or against, wishing some good, or wishing some evil, be it of things or of persons. This is of the nature of a prayer against them.

Then secondly, it is not faintly or coldly said; but said it is with very much vehemence and vigour, as the manner of men is when they are in passion and anger; for there is a holy anger too, whereof otherwhiles use may be made, thereafter as the cause is wherewith it meets; and this is such another, it is a kind of prayer that they call an imprecation; *confundantur* is a kind of curse, an imprecation, or an execration, call it which you will.

And thirdly, two things there are in this prayer, (1.) the parties against whom it is made, and (2.) the persons for whose sake it is made.

1. The parties against whom, are the enemies of Sion, that is, of Church and kingdom both, for in Sion we shall find them both; and those parties be many, and of many kinds, whereof not a man here is left out, *sed omnes qui oderunt*, where the *omnes* will reach not only to every private man, but to whole multitudes besides; and the *oderunt* will reach not only to the outward violent act, but to the very inward will itself, to 'as many as have any evil will at Sion,' for so our Church-book here hath rendered it, and we may not leave it out.

2. After these, the parties for whose sake this prayer is made, are those that dwell in Sion; and they will prove to be God and the king: we say it now, and will prove it anon. And thus far it will go as a prayer.

Then should we also look upon it as a prediction—but that I think we shall not be able to do so now;—for besides that it is a prayer, it is likewise, as I said, a prophetical prayer; that so the prophet here wished, and, as he wished, so he foretold; and, as he foretold, so it came to pass, to the confusion of them that hated Sion; so did, and so may do yet; for this prayer or prediction was not to be pent up among the Jews only, or to end with them, but hath, and

shall have, its force and vigour still among us all, even to the world's end.

These are the parts. Of which that we may speak to the honour of God and the preservation of Sion, the Church, and kingdom, and His true religion among us, before I go any further I shall put[l] you in mind both now and always to make your prayers,

For the estate of Christ's Catholic Church, together with the peace and welfare of all Christian kings and princes, more especially—as by common allegiance we are all bound, and myself with others here by more peculiar duty and service—for our[k] sovereign lord Charles, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France[l], and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in his own dominions over all persons whatsoever, and in all causes whatsoever, supreme governor; that God would be pleased to preserve him in his royal person, and to protect him in his royal dignities, and to restore him to his royal inheritance[m]; for our most gracious queen M., for our most noble prince James, duke of York[n], and all the royal progeny, for the king's majesty's honourable council and all the nobility, for the reverend the prelates and the ministers of the Church, for the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and all the people of the realm; that they may all come together to serve God in peace, to be loyal to their king, and loving to one another.

Rendering always, as we are likewise bound, our praise and thanksgiving for God's favours and graces conferred upon His Church, for the blessed Fathers of our faith, the saints and servants of God who have been the choice vessels of His grace and the shining lights of the world in their several generations before us, and for the happy

[l] The following sentence is here struck out. 'I shall first make that prayer which St. Austin made before one of his sermons; that God would vouchsafe, *quod utiliter meditatum est cor meum et lingua personat*, what my heart hath profitably thought on, that my tongue shall utter, to bring it thence into your ears, and from thence into your hearts, and from thence into your words, and from thence into your lives and actions.'

[k] 'own' erased.

[l] This word has been added above the line on the revision of the sermon.

[m] Instead of the last clause, which is added above the line, the original reading was, 'and to preserve him in his royal arms against the fraud and injustice of all ill doers.'

[n] Instead of James duke of York, prince Charles was here mentioned.

SERM. XIV.

departure of all other His servants our fathers and brethren in the faith of Christ; most humbly beseeching Him that we may continue in their holy communion and religion here, and that we may at the end be brought to their blessed communion and glory hereafter.

And that, for His merits Who is Christ our Lord, the Mediator and Saviour of us all; in His name offering up that form of prayer which He hath prescribed us in His holy Gospel.

Our Father, &c., &c.

1. 'Let them be confounded.' I begin with the prayer. But *confundantur* is a prayer and somewhat more besides; it is an imprecation, both *precatio* and *imprecatio*. Therefore before we say 'Amen' to it, it will not be amiss to enquire whether we may lawfully pray any such prayer, or no.

I move it the rather, because I have heard it said that here our Church is out, that it is not warrantable, that it is altogether unsuitable for a Christian—whatever the Jews did—to use such prayer or imprecation at all; to wish, as here the prophet does, any evil-minded persons so much evil as to pray that they may come to an evil end, which is their *confundantur*, 'let them be confounded.'

And truly somewhat it is that they have to say; for did not St. Paul give us a charge not to do it? not to do it to
Rom. 12. 14. them that did hurt to us? 'Bless them that persecute you; bless, I say, curse not;' that is, use no imprecations at all.
1 Pet. 2. 21. And did not St. Peter set us out Christ's own pattern against it? *Qui, cum malediceretur, non maledixit,* Who wished not their evil that both wished and wrought Him all the evil
Jas. 3. 9, 10. they could. Again, St. James tells us well it becomes us not that with the same tongue we should bless God and curse
Num. 22. 5; 23. 7, &c. men, or pray for evil to come upon them. 'Come and curse me this people,' let that office alone for Balaam the son of Beor; it is an office fitter for him than for any of us. Then
2 Sam. 16. 13. Shimei did it; it belongs to such a miscreant as he was, it belongs not to us. Balaam's name and his stand upon record, upon the black roll, to all posterity; the one for doing of it, and the other for but intending to do it;

and will we be like-minded to them? All this they have against it.

And all this we know; yet all this has been examined by the Fathers of the Church before now, and all this is not so binding neither but that against some persons, and in some special cases, such a prayer hath been, and may still be used well enough. May be? nay, ought to be otherwhiles. For first, such and so evil may the persons be, as for instance, saith St. Peter, those that despise government and speak evil of dignities,—which is all one with them that have evil will here at Sion—so evil may such persons be, that in the same Apostle's own words, they be *homines exsecrandi*, men that are to be accursed, and *maledictionis filii*, the very sons and subjects of malediction. Thus execrable may their doings be, that as God Himself commandeth Moses, so by him He commands us all and gives us licence and a warrant to do it; in such a case to go up into mount Ebal, and there to do as our Church appoints us to do in the commination°; that is, against certain persons to pronounce certain curses; the priest is to say *maledictus*, and all the people to say 'Amen.' He that gave us the charge therefore, St. Paul, not to do it, must be understood to have given it against private revenge; for notwithstanding all his charge given, it is well enough known what he himself did to Elymas the sorcerer, who withstood him in his public service; called him the child of the devil, and struck him blind with an imprecation. And he that set us Christ's pattern, St. Peter, would not be taken in any other sense; for notwithstanding his pattern set us, we know all that he used this kind of imprecation himself against Simon Magus, and gave him his *confundantur;* against such it both may be done, and ought to be done. Nor let the instance of Balaam and Shimei trouble us; they were two fierce and violent men, and they came out to curse them whom God had blessed, to curse the ruler of His people, and to curse Sion itself; which brought therefore a curse upon their own heads for it. But there were two other men, as meek men and as mild as ever the earth had; and yet, as we read, they came to their imprecations for all that. Moses for one, who prayed it against a crew of rebels that they

2 Pet.2.10.

2 Pet.2.14.

Deut. 11, 29; 27.13.

Rom. 12. 14.

Acts 13. 8.

1 Pet.2.21.

Acts 8. 20.

Num. 23. 20. Exod. 22. 28.

Num. 16. 30.

° Upon Ash-Wednesday.

SERM. XIV.

should not die the common death of all men, but go down quick into hell; and David for another, who prayed it against a counseller of rebels, that cursing might come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones. Witness
Ps.109.18. first, one Psalm all of bitter imprecations and scarce of any thing else, all penned against Achitophel and against all such as be like him; then another against those that were confederate against his crown and dignity; and this verse is the sum of them both. But in these Psalms themselves they are set forth in such high and passionate expressions, that they had been held, both by Jews and Christians, to be the most heavy and bitter curses that were to be found in all the volumes of the world besides. The one is the hundred and nineteenth[p], the other the eighty-third[q] Psalm; and I am apt to believe that whosoever shall take the book into his hands, and at some retiring-time read with heed and mark well against what manner of persons those two Psalms of imprecations are penned, he would love both them and their fellows, whosoever they be, the worse for it while he lived.

Judg.5.23. Now what should I tell you of the Angel of the Lord, of the Lord Himself, that cursed the inhabitants of Meros, and thereby gave us a warrant to do the like after Him? that is, that we may lawfully bring forth an imprecation, not only against them that are open enemies and have an evil will at Sion, but against them likewise that are indifferent and bear it no good will at all. All is thereafter as the cause is, and as the persons be against whom the prayer is made; if the cause be right the imprecation is not wrong, and the cause is all. [Now put all this together and it is enough, this, notwithstanding all that useth otherwhiles to be said against it, to shew that this kind of prayer is also lawful among others, and to justify the practice of the Church, if at any time you meet with it there, for it is the practice of the saints; we may well pray it, for herein we do but tread the

[p] De argumento antiquorum expositorum recepta sententia est Judam esse Christi proditorem præcipue, tum alios ejusdem persecutores Judæos; consequenter etiam similes istis alios, qui proditorie violent charitatem; ita ut in Judam præsertim, deinde in alios etiam maledictiones hic pronuntientur, aut rerum malarum, sub maledictionum forma, prædictiones. Lorin. in Ps. 108. 1. tom. iii. p. 232.

[q] Amplector magis universalem sensum, et cum Euthemyo, Nicephoroque aio convenire psalmum cunctis pro Christo persecutionem patientibus. Lorin. in Ps. 83. 1. tom. ii. p. 575.

steps of our holy Fathers, and follow them who were followers herein of God Himself[r].]

Nor need we, nor will we, go out of the text to seek it.

For first, you will mark it here, that it is for the safety of Sion, for that cause, and then that it is against them that have an evil will to Sion, against such persons only and for their confusion who either violently oppose it or secretly undermine it. In which cases it is not only lawful but needful, not only may be done but sometimes ought to be done; for prayers are to be made for Sion, that is, once and for all that belong to it. But for Sion we cannot pray, not as we should do, unless we pray withal against them that are enemies to Sion; who, if they may have their will, will be the utter confusion of Sion itself. Therefore in this case, *confundantur qui oderunt* is no more than needs, and is plainly forced from us, specially then, when we have scarce any other way left but that, as with the Jews it was the case often, and is not with us much unlike it now[s]. All is thereafter as the necessity and the occasion or the cause is; if that be right, we may be sure the prayer, and this kind of prayer too, will not be wrong.

And indeed this is the chief point of advice for us, that we use it not but when we are forced to it; that we take not a *licet* for it without an *oportet* come before it; that is, that we use it not upon every slight and trifling occasion, as our evil custom is, against every thing that comes cross to our own private humour. But when the public safety of the Church and kingdom, when the safety of Sion and the bad practices of Sion's enemies shall require and exact it at our hands, then may we be bold to do it. And this advice is not amiss, the rather because our common and fearful profanation of this kind of prayer, our bitter curses and imprecations that come from us daily where no need is, may well be thought to be one main reason, among others, that where and when need is, the very lawful use of it in our prayers finds no better effect with us than it does.

Again, it is not amiss we took notice of an old saying

[r] The passage included within brackets appears to have been marked for omission.

[s] It will be remembered that this sermon was preached to the exiled English court then resident in Paris.

SERM. XIV. among the Hebrews which is pertinent to this case. They had in their country two mountains, one where they went to bless, at mount Garizim[t], and another where they went to curse, at mount Ebal; of which two their proverb was, that they came time enough to mount Ebal that crept thither, but to mount Garizim that they could not leap too fast; that is, that men must be swift to do the one and slow to do the other. To conclude this point; we are then, as not to be so forward to leap into mount Ebal and fall to our prayers and imprecations there, upon every thing that angers us, so not to be so froward neither, as when we are directed and bidden go, not to come there at all, but to be well advised ere we go; and then we may both safely go thither, and go to some purpose. The cause it is, and the heed it is against what persons it is made, which maketh the prayer lawful; otherwise if it be either used without cause, or done without care, it will be done amiss, and have little or no effect at all; therefore to know well both the men and the matter against whom we do it, and then we may say this prayer every syllable of it, *confundantur omnes qui oderunt Sion.*

2. The special point of advice then being thus provided for, it will concern us now to know the parties well against whom we are to pray it, and to take some notice of them; and we cannot better know them than if we take our light from this book, and, as they shall have reference to this text, apply them as you shall see cause.

They offer themselves to us here in a general term, 'as many as have evil will at Sion;' but those many are many and sundry ways to be known by the characters that are elsewhere given of them.

You will know them the better if you know first, what Sion is, and how far it extends. I told you before that Sion would be found to be both the house of God and the house of David, that is, both the religion of the temple and the government of the kingdom; Church and state both; the Church of God and the state of the king; so that they which have any evil will at either of these are the parties here against whom this prayer is to go out.

First, and to prove what I say, I demand first, why the

[t] Deut. 27. 12, 13; see Seldeni Opp., tom. ii. p. 1550.

prophet hath made choice of Sion only, to name that? why not Judah and Israel? or why not Jerusalem, as well as Sion? for they were the greater places of the two, and the more general by far, and, as one would think, the more worthy to be named. Why then is not the prayer and imprecation made against the haters of them? but against those that have an evil will at Sion only?

It should seem there was somewhat more in Sion than there was in all the rest, somewhat more to be regarded there, than any where else; the choice is made of Sion before them all. Yet to give Jerusalem and Judah, the city and the country, their due, it is not exclusive this of either; but yet it is preferred before them both, for somewhat that there is in Sion more than in the city and country too, and that are they to bear as they can; for it is not in our power to mend the text for them, nor in theirs, neither. The prophet hath made choice of Sion, and we may not change his word, nor teach him how to use his terms. He names nothing but Sion. I ask then, what was Sion? what was it but a hill, a little hill in Jerusalem, with two tops upon it, on the south side of the city? And what reason then was there that this hill should be so much magnified as it was? seldom or never mentioned in Scripture but with honour and regard had to it? Truly no reason in the world but this, that upon one top of this mountain, the temple of God was built; and upon another, the throne of the king. For these two it was that it is here named before all the rest, and so that Sion is so much spoken of and so much made of, all the Psalms and all the prophets over; it is first and chiefly, for the temple's sake, for God's religion and service that was there kept up among them; for Whose sake it is, even for His Church's sake, as poor and low a regard as the world has for it now, that Sion is said to be His holy mountain, a fair place, and the joy of the whole earth, that God is well known in her palaces as a sure refuge, and that He loveth the gates of Sion more than all the dwellings of Jacob besides, loves it more, and therefore will be the more displeased with them here that love it not. For in that it is chiefly mentioned, it shews both what is chiefly regarded by God, and what is chiefly also to be regarded by us, as we know it was by them

Ps. 2. 6; 48. 12; 51. 18; 69. 35, &c.
Is. 1. 27; 12. 6, &c.
Ps. 2. 6.
Ps. 48. 2, 3.
Ps. 87. 2.

SERM. XIV.

that wept at the remembrance of it, when they were forced to be absent from it, 'we sat down and wept, when we remembered thee, oh Sion;' that their greatest grief when they could not come at it, and their greatest joy when news came that they should return thither again.

Ps. 137. 1.

Where there lays a note, by the way, for their joy; it was not, saith the Psalm, *quia in domos nostras ibimus*;—they did not listen, as we listen for our news, to hear chiefly when we shall go every one to his own house and to his own honour and lands again, and I am afraid fare the worse for it too,—but, *quia in domum Domini ibimus*, 'when we shall go into the house and honour of the Lord, and appear every one of us before the God of gods in Sion.' That was their joy and that their chiefest desire, of all other, to have the true and pure services of God set up at home in peace among them; and if our thoughts went more that way than they do, certainly God would be better pleased with us than He is, Who, as He hath given us His promise for it, that for Sion's sake and for the house of the Lord our God, if we would set our affections there, He will seek to do us good,—so for want of those affections, our affections to the gates of Sion, it is still to be feared lest we be yet kept back from the dwellings of Jacob.

Ps. 42. 2; 84. 7.

Is. 62. 1.

In the meanwhile clear it is to you, who be the chief persons that are said here to have an evil will at Sion; that they be the maligners of the Church, the haters of His temple, and the enemies of His true religion, against whom this *confundantur* may by good warrant be given out, and the prayer go forth against every one that loves not the peace and prosperity of them all. For as for God Himself, He is too high for them, either for any good they can do Him or for any evil or enmity that can reach Him; therefore He reckons of no enemies but His Church's enemies, or at least of none so much, as being that for which we were all, world and all, made, and by which we and all the world are still upholden; for were this Sion, this Church of His once gathered, the world would dissolve straight; nor is it long neither, before we are like to hear of it, when there be no more enemies to molest it. These are one sort of them.

(2.) But Sion had two tops; as one whereon the temple

stood, so another whereon the throne and palace of the king were situated. *Posui regem in monte sanctitatis meæ,* 'I have ver. 6. set My king also upon My holy hill of Sion,' as we read in the second Psalm; which, though it was mystically understood of Christ, yet it was literally true of David. So near neighbourhood was there between the king and the Church, as there was between his palace and the temple. They stood both upon one and the same hill.

And it cannot but weigh much with all that shall weigh this point well, that kings are taken into so near a society and conjunction with God in Sion, that the league is so firm and the knot so strait between them, as one cannot have ill will to the one but he must have it to the other also. So they that are enemies to David or the king, are enemies to God and to Sion.

Another reason why Sion is here mentioned, that all may know what regard they are to have of kings, whom God hath placed so close to Himself, as there is but one name here both for His Church and for them, so inseparably are they linked together, and the prosperity of the one so much depending upon the welfare of the other.

I cannot tell—some certain men may entertain what speculations they please—to think that David's throne may stand well enough though the temple be pulled down, or the Church destroyed; but when we come at any time to see these speculations of theirs brought into practice, to view them in the fore-past ages of the world, or to look upon them in these days of ours and see how we like them now, sure we are we cannot find it so. Indeed, experience, daily and sad experience, hath taught us that the safety of Sion depends upon the two hills of Sion; and that they that are not for both are, to speak truth, for neither, but like to carry Sion into Babel and to turn all into confusion. Against such well and fitly may we pray this prayer, and say *confundantur* to all of them.

So have we two manner of persons that be here meant; but there is yet somewhat more in the text against them.

(3.) They are said here to be many, nay they are said to be all, *omnes qui oderunt,* not a man left out. Where, that we may take all in, we will take *omnes* in the two several

SERM. XIV.

notions or acceptions of the word, either *omnes, collective*, in a sense collective of all together, or *omnes, distributive*, in a sense distributive of the sundry and divers kinds of them, of them that be enemies unto Sion.

From the first acception this we have, that it extends not only to single and private persons, but reacheth to whole multitudes, be they never so many; *omnes* will serve to take in cities and towns and countries both, even the whole body of the people, and all that would be independent of any, and suffer neither God nor the king to rule them. It hath been thought, and it hath been taught likewise, that *vox populi* might carry all, was as good as *vox Dei*, might come up into mount Sion in multitudes, and there do with religion and government what they pleased themselves. The prophet here forcsaw what it would come to, that the body and multitudes of the people might chance this way to take a liberty to themselves, and think to be privileged by their very number; therefore to make sure, he puts in a number here that encloseth them all; for be they many or be they few, as many as they be *omnes* will exempt none. And let them look to it that think to bear themselves out and to avoid it with company; there is nothing so near a *confundantur* as the multitude.

2. But from the second acception of *omnes*, they are brought in every one in his kind. I will but name them briefly. The Jews had not a few of them, and I think we have had as many. For first they had the sons of Belial, who lived within their own quarters; and those were men that had no religion at all and cared neither for the temple of God nor for God Himself. We call them the atheists, the worst enemies that we, or they, had; for I wish the like were not to be found in our Israel.

(2.) Then they had the children of Edom, a kind of wicked and spiteful men, a people that neighboured[u] upon them and were somewhat allied to them besides, but such mortal—such immortal—haters[x] of Sion and of the religion professed there, as that we are told by many of the old writers, both Jews and Christians, that this verse, and this Psalm, was penned of chief

[u] Relandi Palest. p. 66; Saliani Annales, A.M. 2546. § 4.

[x] Saliani Annal. A.M. 2583. § 23. seqq.; Lorin. tom. iii. p. 745.

purpose against them[r]. I will give you a note or two of them, that you may know both them and their venemous natures. First, they were the wickedest natured people under the sun, and if ever there were any devils upon earth they were the men; which was the original of the Hebrew proverb, that if the devil would choose to be of any country, he would choose to be an Edomite. For no place on earth resembled hell more for all manner of malice and wickedness, as we may read of it in the prophet Malachi, than that country did. Then were they the nearest to their borders, and the nearest akin to the Jews of all nations besides, and so should have been their best friends, and have borne no evil will to their Sion; but the quarrel was that the Jews had a larger and a better country by far than they, the Edomites, had, and that their temple was too much talked on abroad, got away the glory from them all. From whence grew their envy; and an enemy out of envy, though never so near a neighbour, nor never so near akin, proves ever to be the worst. Yet once more, they were always waiting to do Sion a mischief, and when they were not able to do it alone of themselves, they set on others from abroad, and then came in and helped them; and when the temple was plundered and fire set upon the holy places, they were the men that cried out so fast 'Down with it to the ground, down with it,' and let not a stone remain. For the next words of the Psalmist are, 'Remember the children of Edom, O Lord, how they said,' as he says there, and for so saying gives forth this *confundantur* here against them.

Mal. 1 &c.

Rom.

Ps. 13

(3.) But thirdly, their next enemies were them of Babel, men of another country and another religion, and I number them among the enemies of the Church (though they did the kingdom too all the mischief they might) not so much for the spoils of the temple, that were carried thither at the captivity, as for the cruelty that was used against them in matters of religion, when they must either fall down before an image and do as they did in all things, that is, be of the new religion and follow the new laws that Nebuchadnezzar and his captains had lately set up, or endure the trial of the fiery furnace; ye know who used to do so by us. They come

Jer. 21

Dan. 3

[r] Lorin. in Ps. tom. iii. p. 636.

SERM. XIV.

all out of Babylon, but 'Babel' is 'confusion.' Against all such it is lawful to say a *confundantur*.

(4.) Besides these, Sion had others also that bare it no good will at home neither, who by raising up factions and schisms among themselves thereby disturbed that peace and unity of the Church which the prophet calls the blessing and the dew of Sion. Of whom *utinam abscindantur*, saith the Apostle, *qui conturbant vos;* where we have St. Paul's warrant that this prayer may be said in the New Testament as well as in the Old, both against heretics and against schismatics that raise tumults in religion and disquiet the peace of Christ's Church; a kind of people that do nothing else but study to maintain their own faction, and make the breaches of Sion wider than they are already.

Ps. 133. 3.

Gal. 5. 12.

Ps. 60. 2.

To these might many more be yet added than have been named, but you know them as well as I, what manner of enemies and persons they are of whom this Psalm was made, and against whom this prayer may be said, no less than it was against the other. The conclusion would be, that against them all, all are bound to say 'Amen' to this prayer. And in the name of God, so let it be.

In the meanwhile, let it not seem strange to us that such enemies there are, for Sion will never be without them, and the best men on earth have been put to their trial with them. It is some adversity that we suffer from them, but it is *sors sanctorum*, it hath been the lot of many a saint of God before us, and of far more worth and dignity than any we are, to be in adversity, to be persecuted, afflicted, tormented, to be robbed of goods, and lands, and lives and all. Nor did they love Sion, either Church or kingdom, ever a whit the worse for it all the while.

Heb. 11. 37.

Sion God loved and favoured very high, yet, how dear soever Sion is in His sight, it had no promise made but that such kind of enemies it should otherwhiles meet withal. Even king David himself, a man after God's own heart, he had them, had those that persecuted, hated him *gratis*, hated him though they had many favours done them by him, and though they were fed with his milk yet was he bitten by them for all that. *Facient enim quod suum est iniquitatis filii*, saith St. Austin, 'the sons of wickedness will be doing their kind,'

Acts 13. 22.

it be against king David or against any king besides, it be against Christ Himself. Let not this make us : either in our religion or loyalty, but that we may be our trial, and constant to our profession; still, above ıg the gates of our Sion, that is, of our religion, more our other dwellings in Jacob; which, by the grace of ay be a fair means to bring us back again both to the . to the other, there, if it be His blessed will, to serve . peace and piety all the days of our life, that so Him we may in the end of our days be translated r dwellings here below to His everlasting tabernacles To which, &c.

ollowing passage, originally . here, has afterwards been

at shall we come to, not to can but take order that while , we prepare ourselves to be ır Him, that He may have ng in us, as He hath in Sion. is His tabernacle, and His n Sion. Our bodies, as we ıatter, many of us, are far · His temples, shops of vanity s of pride rather, and I know hat to say of them.

:ourse must be taken that re here we make both Sions :s of them for the living God ; and that by His grace may l no way sooner than if we ervice of His temple well; l resort to it, and be often at it. Of that service this is the highest, that we see here before us. And sure, if ever we have any thing of Sion, any thing of a temple in us, then it is when we are duly and devoutly employed, they and we, in His worship and service; specially in this service, when we cleanse the house and prepare our bodies and souls to receive His blessed Body and Blood. Then are we His temple in Sion, and He dwelleth in us. From whence if by defiling that temple we expel Him not again, He will never leave us until He hath, as I said, translated us unto His eternal temple in heavenly places.

To which He, of His infinite mercy vouchsafe to bring us all, that we may all give glory and honour to Him for evermore. Amen.

SERMON XV.

PARIS, FEB. 12, 1651, [NEW STYLE] DOMINICA SEXAGESIMÆ.

The word of God which we heard read but now in

GENESIS iii. 13.

Et dixit Dominus Deus ad mulierem, &c.

And the Lord God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, [and I did eat.]

SERM. XV.

A TEXT whereof I have made choice to-day to preach, because it is a part, and the chiefest part, of that lesson whereof the Church hath made choice this day to read[a].

Before I begin with the text, I will first say somewhat of the intent and reason that the Church had thus to order this lesson this next Sunday after Septuagesima; for there now we are.

I ask then concerning this order, first, Why these days have this appellation, and we are thus suddenly set back for our lessons, both this Sunday and the last, from the prophecies of Isaiah, whom we read before at the Advent, to the beginning of Genesis, which we read you now, all the Septuagesima till towards Easter.

It was a question, whereof, when they were at a loss about it here in France, Charlemaine the king here sent his letters into England, more than eight hundred years since, for in those days the service of the Church was wont to be a part of the king's care, and from thence, from the Church of England, he had his resolution given him, by one of venerable

[a] The third chapter of Genesis is appointed for the first lesson of the morning service on Sexagesima Sunday.

Bede's scholars[b], a man well known to the world, a doctor of our own Church, and the greatest both for learning and religion that all the churches of the world then had living amongst them.

I move it the rather that you may know, first, it was no new order this, for it was ancient even then; so ancient, that in this country so long ago, they were to seek both for the beginning and for the reason of it. And then to let you see that the Church hath ordered nothing in this kind but she is able to shew a good cause why. For the Church's[c] intention is to teach us, by the very order and method of her public service through the whole year, what her doctrine is concerning the fundamental and necessary points of our Christian religion through our whole lives; and therefore she begins her yearly office with Christ's advent, Christ's nativity, and Christ's epiphany or manifestation to the world; for that is our chief and fundamental point of all the rest. And during all that time, she reads us the prophet Isaiah, who speaks of Christ as if he had lived in Christ's time; and yet he wrote of Him six hundred[d] years before He was born, none so clearly as he; therefore is he read then to the end of Christ's epiphany. But when this is done, because it is no less needful for us to take notice of that universal sin and corruption of the world, which being wrought there at first by the suggestion of the devil, was the cause of Christ's coming and appearing in the world, therefore having set forth the one, begun in the New Testament, she sends us back to the other, which was the beginning of the Old, there to reflect upon the miserable ruin and fall of man in the first Adam, that we might the better apprehend our own want, and look for our repair again in the second Adam, which was Christ Himself. For this cause are we now turned back to the beginning of

[b] Reference is here made to Alcuin, the friend of Charlemagne; but Cosin is in error in asserting that he was educated by the venerable Beda; see the life of Alcuin prefixed to the edition of his works, by Froben, vol. i. p. xvi. § xi. ed. 1777. The letter of Alcuin may be seen in the same volume, p. 85; it was written A.D. 798.

[c] See this statement more fully expanded in Cosin's note entitled, 'Ratio ordinis Evangeliorum de Tempore per totius anni curriculum,' which occurs in his observations upon 'The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels to be used.'

[d] This is considerably understated, for according to the chronology of archbishop Ussher, the most remarkable of these prophecies were uttered about 712 years B.C.

SERM. XV.

Genesis, to the original cause and beginning of all sin and mischief upon the earth; for he that is not sent thither to look upon his ruin, and to be rightly affected with it too, in the first Adam, will be nothing the better, the worse rather, for the coming of the second; that is, he that apprehends not his sin, will never take hold of his Saviour, but have as little sense of the one as he has of the other. And yet this sin it is, if we look not to it, that will destroy us all; nothing to which we have such need to be sent; nothing from which we have so much need to be saved; nothing for which Christ came into the world to save us, but to save us from that. As much account therefore as we make of Him and His coming into the world, so much reflection are we to make likewise upon that sin, and from that, upon all other sins that brought Him into the world. And this is the reason that now we read you the book of Genesis[e], where that sin is recorded, and where you may see the first persons of the world, from whom we all descend, banished out of paradise for it, to the servitude and afflictions of this life. And here comes in our Septuagesima; whereof this Sunday is a part.

Septuagesima is a state of servitude and affliction, that the chiefest of Adam's posterity had seventy years together in Babylon. When for their sin they were cast out of their own country, it was a remembrance, that, for us, and of Adam's being cast out of God's paradise. For that ejection of his from thence put both him, and us, into the state and condition wherein now we are, the condition of a Septuagesima servitude, that is, of captivity and thraldom under sin and affliction all our life long; for so long is usually the term of a man's life. That, and this, and the two other Sundays that follow it, all putting of us in mind where we are, whiles we are in our several ages, under the dominion of sin and the mastery of Satan, to look after Christ and His coming to put us into a better estate; that when these days are done, we may be brought out of this exile to His Easter, as it stands here in the order of our book, which is His glory and resurrection: and so have you a reason and an account given you of the Church's order and disposition of her service at this time.

[e] Similar observations occur in the Bishop's notes upon the Common Prayer, under the head 'Proper Lessons.'

A part of which service is the text here that I have chosen; wherein if we can find the mercy and favour of God in the midst of our misery, and take heed of the malice and fraud of the devil in the midst of His mercy, we shall have made so many steps backwards again in our way to paradise, and as many forwards in our coming to Christ.

The fall of man and the sin of the woman in paradise, wherewith they infected all their posterity, is a story delivered to us in Scripture and made good by experience. For if there were no Scripture that had recorded it, yet the universal irregularity of our whole nature, unsampled by other creatures, and running counter all the time of our life to all the right rules of order and reason, besides the wretched misery of our condition here upon the earth, where we are daily exposed to continual afflictions and sorrow, without any true rest or contentment of our minds at all,— all this might well enough assure us, that *ab initio non fuit sic*, 'from the beginning it was not so;' at least, not likely Mat. 18. 8. it should be so, that He who created us at first, and made us lords of all His other creatures, should make us such disorderly creatures then as we appear to be now: but that whoever it was, there had been some common father and parent to us all, who had, since that time, either eat or drank some strange and devilish poison or other, wherewith, infecting himself first, he undid and poisoned his whole race after him.

That poison, to go now by the Scriptures, was brought him by the devil, and down it went, with the breach and contempt of God's commandment, when he would needs do that which he was forbidden to do, and eat of a fruit which was not permitted him to taste, being otherwise as free and as indifferent to be eaten as any other fruit was that the earth brought forth, but that God would make trial only in this, whether he would be obedient to Him or no; and he would not; would be kept under no restraint or law at all, but would needs be lord himself, and do what he list; this undid him, and all his posterity after him; for such as the nature of the root is, infected or sound, such are the branches that flow from it. And we are branches of his infected stock, every man and mother's child of us all, till we be all ingrafted into

SERM. XV. Christ; all poisoned with sin, and that sin which was the bane of the world, the sin of disobedience to God's express will and commandment; take we heed of that sin, it undid and disordered the world at first, that, and first or last will be the bane and undoing of us all.

They take their freedom much abroad, to talk and discourse of the fruit of this tree; they bid us tell them what it was; and many a loose tongue there is that say their pleasure of it. But it is neither the fruit nor the tree that we are to look at here. Be it what it was, good we are sure it was, as
Gen. 1. 31. all the rest were; all that God had made was good, and good to be eaten too; there was no harm in the tree at all; the harm was in the breach of God's commandment, which might have forbidden the use of any other tree, or any other indifferent thing whatsoever, as well as this. And if the commandment had been broken, the offence had been the same still, lay it where they will; so the offence is all.

For which Adam being called to an account, and he laying the fault upon the woman, the woman is here examined, and gives in her answer, of both which we are now to take a view. 'And the Lord God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me.'

There are three parties here named, and we must take notice of them all; but the general parts of the text are two; God's own inquisition, accusing the woman; and the woman's own confession, excusing her fact.

I begin with the inquisition into the fact; 'And the Lord God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done?' where we have the person first that makes this inquest, and then the inquisition itself. We will look into them both.

I. In the person; as much offended as He was, yet there are here three remarkable circumstances of His goodness. First, in His forbearance to stay so long as He did, not to come and examine, or call this woman to an account, till now. *Et dixit Dominus*, 'And the Lord God said.' That 'And' is often set for a conjunction of time, and so it is here; for first, the man himself had been examined, and till he accused and appealed the woman, God, He forbears her; Who, though He needed not any information from another to tell

Him what had been done, for He knew well, and had observed ll the progress of her sin from the first to the last, yet as hough He had been loath to know it, or to find her guilty f it, He takes no notice of it all the while, but as if He had een unwilling to come against her, and to pronounce any uch sentence of justice upon her as her sin required. See ow long He stays from it, and how slowly He comes to it; he whom He knew to be the first in the transgression, He ets her by, here to be the last in the inquisition; she who ad committed so many transgressions, He calls her not into uestion for any of them all till now. Count her trans-ressions; for there were more of them than one. (1.) She ad entertained a conference here with the devil, listened to im; and yet God spared her. (2.) At the first onset of that conference she sinned a sin of unbelief and distrust in God, made a question whether He had said true or no; and yet He spared her. (3.) In the progress of her sin she grew ambitious and exalted in her mind, to become like God Himself; and yet He spared her. (4.) In the pursuit of this ambition she assents, and suffers the devil to charge God with envy, says nothing against it; and yet He spared her. (5.) After this she lets her sensual desires and affections all loose to be doing that which God had forbidden her; and yet He spared her. (6.) At last she does it, comes to the height and consummation of her sin; that is, sins all these sins together, of pride and ambition, of murmuring and envy, of distrust and unbelief, of presumption and confidence, of rebellion and disobedience, all this. And yet for all this, God He forbears her still, comes not against her all this while, till she had allured the man also into all these transgressions with her; and then, and not till then, does He come here to judge and punish them both. Well may we say of Him, 'Long suffering and of great goodness,' for He comes not to judge and punish until He be provoked and forced to come, as if it were against His nature and property to do it; never does it, no more now, than He did here at first, till the world puts Him to it, and will suffer Him to stay no longer.

This is one good meditation for us to begin withal; and this may be another, that though we find our hearts full of

SERM. XV. evil and sinful thoughts, which she, here in the state of her integrity, might have kept from ever coming there, as in the state of our corruption we never shall, though we be often tempted with them and meet with many allurements to make us sin, yet if we can make any shift to keep ourselves from the act and execution of sin, we have a fair hope here, that God will bear no less with us than He did with her, till she brought all to a final execution, and let her sins get the mastery of her in the end. For He will not deal with us in further rigour than the frailties and infirmities of our human nature, now corrupted and made worse than it was, will bear. There is a soil of sin contracted in us, ever since this first sin was committed, which of itself will otherwhiles rise and vapour from our nature, let the best do his best. I do not say we can keep ourselves now from that, as Eve might have done before her fall; but this we may do, we may keep ourselves from provoking that corruption, by not suffering our minds to wander in it; by keeping our ears from such conference, and our eyes from such occasions, as will set it a working, all which was the undoing of this woman at first. From that, by the help of God, we may keep ourselves well enough. And thus, if sin be not kept from us, because of the many infirmities that are within us, and the many temptations that be without us, yet are we kept from sin, by suffering neither of them both to get the dominion and mastery over us. And with that will God be content at our hands, as our estate now is. This is a point of comfort in the midst of our misery, and all this belongs to His long-suffering and forbearance here; the first circumstance in the person of the judge.

2. The second is in the temper of His justice,—which I consider not here in relation to the promise that He made hereafter of setting up the brazen serpent, that was Christ, to heal them and all others, of the sting and poison which they had got from this tempting serpent,—but, as the text here leads me, and no further. In that, God vouchsafes, first, to enquire of the offence, and to examine the fact, before He gives any sentence, or proceeds to execution upon it.

Gen. 11. 7. He did so at Babel, went down to see their building first, before He would confound those builders. He did so at

odom, before He burnt up their city. He will do so again when He comes to burn up all the world; all shall be examined and every one shall be heard, what they can say for themselves before they receive their sentence. We say of Him, and we say rightly, that from Him no secrets are hid, but all hearts open, and all actions known to Him, whatever they be, for He framed the heart, and understandeth the thoughts of them long before; He created the world, and sees all the works that are done in it. This enquiry, therefore, was not, nor never will be, because He knew not what was done, but that these persons that did it might reflect upon themselves and see what evil they had done. If justice proceeds it is long of them[1] that they have nothing left to plead against it; otherwise as He is willing to hear them all they can say, so He is unwilling to condemn them before they be heard and have said here what they can: which will be the case likewise of all their posterity that comes after them.

Gen. 18. 21. Ps. 44. 21. 1 Cor. 3. 21. 1 Sam. 2. 3.

[1] it is their own fault

3. The third and last circumstance which I note here, is, that God is said here to come in His own person, and make this enquiry; to speak and to talk with them, as one man doth with another; to come down and look them out, when they ran away from Him and hid themselves out of His sight. All which is spoken *secundum captum humanum*, that men might the more easily apprehend and understand His ways of proceeding with them the better[f]. It is an adage of the Hebrew writers, and they repeat it often, *Lex loquitur linguam filiorum hominum*, 'that God speaks the language of men;' that is, that the Scriptures of God descend to the capacity and understanding of men, and therefore they present God and shew Him to us, not only in the faculties of our mind, but in the position, and motion, and lineaments of our body. In the meanwhile this is certain, that His immutable and divine nature is not subject to any one of them all, howsoever here or elsewhere He presenteth Himself in them. I add that as it is not proper for His essence, so neither is it fitting for His greatness, thus to express Himself; but that He, not regarding so much what might best become Him, as what might best instruct us, chooseth of

[f] See Tertull. adv. Praxean, p. 503. ed. 1597.

SERM. XV. purpose the stylat and character for us wherewith we are soonest affected.

And because good moral counsel, delivered in plain and general precepts, use to enter but faintly with us, therefore *ad exaggerandam peccati vim et malitiam*, as Tertullian speaks, to set forth the heinousness of sin, and contempt against Him, He sets forth Himself affected with it, as in the like case we would be affected ourselves, able to bring Him out of His place, to fetch Him down from heaven, if by any means in the world it were possible to bring Him thence. Such is the nature of sin, that it would even force Him to that.

But St. Austin's reason is better, and more commended, *Exprimit in Se, ut expromat de te.* He thus brings forth Himself against sin, examining, complaining, condemning, judging, and punishing of it, that we might do as much against it in ourselves. And so I come from the person to the inquisition.

II. And He said, *Quid est hoc quod fecisti?* 'What is this that thou hast done?' whereof I have said so much already, that I shall have but a little to do here.

There is in it the greatness and aggravation of her sin, this first sin of the world, that hath so disordered the world ever since, and brought in all the rest after it.

And the greatness of it, how little account soever the Pelagian[g], the Socinian[h], and the Atheist[i] make of it, will appear to us in these three particulars.

1. First, it was a transgression of a law, and such a law as was given for nothing else, but only to try and to prove the first man and the first woman, (of whom all men and women were afterwards to come,) whether they would live here in subjection to God or no, and acknowledge Him to be their Lord and master; or otherwise to renounce Him and His absolute dominion over them.

For the moral law which was written and engraven in their hearts, as it is still in ours,—that was not it; it was

[g] See Vossius, Historia Pelagianismi, p. 172. edit. 1618.

[h] Scherzer, Collcg. Anti-Socin., p. 275. edit. 1672.

[i] See their opinion summed up by Gerhard, Loc. Theol. iv. 317. edit. Cottæ.

not for the doing of any thing that was of itself simply good, nor for the abstaining from any thing that was of itself simply evil, for in such things as these, in the state of integrity wherein they were created, there had been no trial of their pure and absolute subjection at all, and therefore there was no commandment given them for these things at first, no more than there is now to the Angels; such excellent endowments they had then, without any disorder in their affections, or defect in their intellectuals, that they were naturally carried to observe all moral laws of themselves, that is, such things as a good and righteous person would do, without any commandment to do them, and such things as he would not do, without any prohibition to forbid them; so this was not it that put them to their trial. That which did so, was a law of another nature, prohibiting a thing in itself neither good nor evil; a thing, that but for the trial of their obedience (whether they would submit themselves to God or no, only because He commanded them, and merely for obedience sake) had been otherwise indifferent, and neither pleasing nor displeasing to God at all. Peradventure this is somewhat that ye have not heard before, but we had it from St. Austin, and he had it from the City of God, where the Scriptures and the Church of God are kept: *Prohibita non propter aliud, quam ad commendandum puræ ac simplicis obedientiæ bonum,* 'Being,' says he there, 'forbidden not for any other respect than thereby only to try and commend their pure and simple obedience;' for by observing of this law, they should have given a testimony that they were willing to subject themselves to God's pleasure, only because it was His pleasure; and therefore by rejecting and breaking this law, they did as much as make an open profession that they would be none of His subjects, but renounce His power and lordship over them. This was their sin, and this the first was that wherein the greatness of their sin appeared the greater, because they had no other commandment given them than this.

2. The second is, in regard of their persons that sinned. That they here, whom God had made the last and most excellent of all His creatures, formed them after His own image, given them an essence both spiritual and immortal,

SERM. XV. endued them with qualities divine and holy, bestowed on them a free and unconstrained will, made them lords and rulers of all the world besides,—that they here should sin against Him, and set so light by His pleasure; the greater the persons, the greater the sin; and the more graces, the more ingratitude. For of those to whom God had given so much, He might justly have required and expected much; whatsoever it had been that He imposed upon them. If they sin, they sin more grievously than any other; so that in this respect the sin of these two persons, adorned with so many divine and admirable abilities not to sin at all, exceeded the sins of all their posterity, as much as their integrity did our corruption: between which there is now as great a difference as betwixt the light of the sun, and the darkness of a cloud. This was a second aggravation.

3. The third is as great, for the commandment was little, and easy to be observed; easy, both in regard of themselves, who being created in holiness and righteousness, were not then troubled with any such disordered affections as we are now, and in regard of that which was forbidden them. For they had all the liberty of the world allowed them, but this; whereof, as they had no need, in the full plenty and abundance of all things else, so had they no prohibition neither, but only to approve themselves in this one particular, that notwithstanding their liberty and lordship over all other creatures, there was yet a lord and master over them, Whom they should have no liberty to reject. And yet they did it when they had no provocation, no reason at all to do it; did it for no other but because they would have their own will in doing of it, without enduring the least restraint to be put upon them; which made their sin rise as high as pride and rebellion, the worst sins, and the most like the devil's sin of any other. Well might God say, *Quid est hoc quod fecisti?* 'What is this that thou hast done?' All considered, there never was the like. Pride and rebellion make men like to devils, and the devil has a foot in it, wherever the steps of it are now, or have been at any time to be found. For here in the next part is he brought in as the master rebel of all himself.

'And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me.' Of

which there is so much to say, that I must ask leave for another time to say it in, and only tell you now, the heads of what I am to speak of then.

There is in it, besides the woman and that which concerns her, the serpent and his guile, that concerns both him and ourselves.

Concerning the serpent, there will be two things to be enquired; first, what this serpent was indeed; and secondly, what Eve supposed him to be. For there are some men in the world so unreasonable, as to think and to say that this was the unreasonable and the brute serpent[k], and others there be that make nothing of it but a mere allegory[l], such another as they do of the tree of life too. So volatile and slippery are the licentious wits and fancies of men, that neither Scripture nor any religious writer besides can fix them. Against these two sorts of men, and the imaginary doctrine that they have delivered to the world, we shall have somewhat to say and make it appear first, that this deceiver here was the devil, who did but abuse the brute serpent, either by entering into him, or by taking his shape upon him, and then that Eve took him for no other. There will be some difficulties to assoil[1], but I shall endeavour to clear them all, and shew you besides, what his liberty and what his limits have been ever since.

[1] to answer

Concerning his guile, here, when we know how the woman, the wisest and the most knowing that ever was, came to be beguiled by him, we shall take occasion to tell you what has

[k] This was the opinion of Josephus, (Antiq. Jud. i. 1,) and of various other Jewish writers; see Buddei Hist. Eccl. Vet. Testamenti, tom. i. p. 96. edit. 1726.

[l] A list of these allegorists, beginning with Philo and Origen, together with a refutation of their theory, may be seen in Cotta's note to Gerhard's Loc. Com. Theolog., tom. iv. p. 301. The following passage from Wegschneider's Institutiones Theologiæ Christianæ Dogmaticæ, § 117, (Halæ 1829,) will best explain the sentiments of the modern German school. In traditionis Mosaicæ argumento fons est præcipuus doctrina de origine peccati. Sed id ipsum, et ea præsertim aperte mythum produnt, quæ narrantur de Deo apparente, ambulante, cum protoplastis colloquente eosque vestiente, de arbore vitæ et discriminis boni malique Jehovæ et cœlitibus reservata, de serpente callidis verbis alliciente, de pœnis serpenti et hominibus inflictis ob delictum levissimum gravissimis, quæ potius pro effectis e natura creaturarum illarum finita necessario exoriundis habendæ sunt, quod similia aliarum gentium commenta peperit, originem mali explicare tentavit. Verum e mytho sacro nulla ejusmodi dogmata in veræ religionis doctrinam recipienda sunt, nisi quæ non pugnant cum idea numinis et cum naturæ humanæ indole morali, quales e Scripturæ Sacræ effatis indubitatis et sanæ rationi convenientibus recte demonstratæ fuerint.

SERM. XV.

been the greatest occasion, ever since that time, of the greatest errors and disorders of the world in all times; for there is a piece of the devil's deceit and guile in them all, moral and religious matters and all. All to make us the more careful and wary against him, to know what the deceitfulness of sin and error is, and to avoid it, to fly from it as we would do from a serpent; for to this end was this Scripture recorded by God, and appointed to-day to be read in His Church, whereof God give us grace to make a right and a religious use, that if we have not been so happy as not to fall, (we call Adam's sin Adam's fall,) yet we may not be so unhappy as not to rise and stand up again; if not before we sin to stop ourselves, and say, *Quid est hoc quod facio,* what is this that I am about to do? which were always best, yet at least to say after, *Quid est hoc quod feci,* what is this that I have done? which will never be amiss. There is much more in it (this, 'what have we done?') than one would think, for ask it over again, when at any time we fall, (for sin, as we said, is the fall of man,) it casts us down as a fall, it bruises as a fall, it fouls as a fall, *dixit Dominus, Quid est hoc quod fecisti?* 'what is this that thou hast done?' what in respect of itself? so fond, so foul, so ignominious an act;—what in regard of God? so opposite to the law of His justice, so injurious to the awe of His power, so fearful, so glorious in His majesty;—what in regard of the object? for what a trifling vanity! for what a transitory pleasure! what in respect of the consequent, so dangerous, so pernicious to soul and body both, and yet for all this, to be so evil advised as to do it; why did we do it? how came we to be brought to it? sure when we did it, we did we knew not what. A meditation as fit for any one's sin and falling from God in other kinds, as it was for Eve's here in this.

Eccl. 21. 2.

Therefore the best use and application of all will be to ask ourselves this question; to ask it often; to recount our falls; that is, to call ourselves to an account for them, before God comes to do it; to set them before us, as He does here before Eve; to look upon them and to see whether they have brought us from the state of paradise to the turmoils of the world, from the beauty of life to the dust of death, from the place of liberty to the bar of judgment. If we could be

sometimes got to do this in kind, we would keep ourselves the better from falling out of God's protection, so often as we do; but if at any time we find ourselves out, it will be good making all the haste we can to get in again howsoever. And there is no better way to do it than this, that God Himself hath here set out for us; that is, to call ourselves to account for sin, before He comes to judgment.

And this being the sum of all, here I end, praying that God would give us grace, first to avoid sin, and then, if we have not avoided it, to follow the advice which this sermon and this lesson of His hath given us. And to the same God, as our bounden duty is, let us always ascribe all honour, and glory, and dominion over all His creatures, now and for evermore. Amen.

SERMON XVI.

PARIS, MARCH 5, 1651. [NEW STYLE.]

SECUNDA DOMINICA QUADRAGESIMÆ.

GENESIS iii. 13, 14.

And the Lord God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me and I did eat.

And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed, &c.

SERM. XVI.

I RETURN now to our text here out of Genesis, which the Church at this season reads to us, and where the story of Adam's fall, and the beginning of sin and misery in the world, is recorded to all his posterity.

A story, whereof if there were no Scripture nor record at all, yet would the general corruption and irregularity of our whole nature, give us cause enough to suspect that *ab initio non fuit sic*, from the beginning it was not as it is now, but that some or other, of whom we all came, themselves had first poisoned, and then infected all their whole race after them.

Mat. 19. 8.

As here in Genesis we read of the forbidden meat, so in St. Paul we find that there was a forbidden cup, *calix dæmoniorum*, that the devil hath a cup. Of that cup it is that, after Adam, the world will still be tasting; and as it went down sweetly with him, but poisoned him, so sin is a poison to all the world besides, and a poison to death. *Eritis sicut dii* went off pleasantly at first, but it was bitter in the bottom, and it proved his bane. *Mors in olla*, there was destruction in that meat, and death in that cup; by which is meant the deadly fruit of our deadly sins, the punishment and sentence that here follows them.

1 Cor. 10. 21.

Gen. 3. 5.

2 Kings 4. 40.

For the receiving of which sentence, Adam being called first into question by the great Judge of heaven and earth, and he laying the fault upon the woman, she upon the serpent, the doom here passes upon them all. But first she was heard to say, as Adam was before her, all that she can allege or answer for herself.

When I took this text first, I made but two parts of it in the former case, and now I add a third in the latter. Let them be altogether, the inquisition into the fact, the confession of the party, and the sentence of the judge. Of the inquisition we began to speak when I made the last sermon. Of that which remains there, and of the confession, we shall speak in this; and of the sentence hereafter. Of which, &c.

Into the inquisition, consisting of the words, And the Lord God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? we have begun to enquire already; and now we get on to see how great a sin it was that was here committed, because the world usually make so light of it. And yet it concerns them more than all the world besides.

(1.) The greatness of it will appear in regard, first, of the commandment itself, which was given them that rejected it for no other end but to prove them only, whether they would live here in subjection to God, or no; for otherwise it was of a thing indifferent in itself, neither good nor evil, neither pleasing nor displeasing to God at all, but to try their obedience, for obedience sake. And therefore, as by observing it, they should have given a testimony that they were willing to submit themselves to God's pleasure, only because it was His pleasure; so by rejecting it, they acknowledged no absolute power or dominion at all which He had over them That had created and made them. This made it a sin of pride and rebellion, the worst sin and the most like the devil's sin of any other.

(2.) Next, in regard of their own person that committed it; that they here, upon whom God had bestowed so much, formed them after His own image, adorned them with such excellent abilities, made them lords over all His other creatures, allowed them the choice of all the things in the whole world but one, and given them a free and uncon-

SERM. XVI.

strained will, besides a power not to have sinned at all;—that they, thus plentifully furnished against sin, should yet sin against Him, and set so light by His pleasure! for the greater the persons, the greater the sin; and the more graces the more ingratitude. If they sin, they sin more grievously than any other; so that in this respect, their sin exceeded the sins of all their posterity, as much as their state of integrity does our state of corruption. This made it an ungrateful sin.

(3.) And thirdly, in regard of the petty and irrational motives that they had to do it; that God envied them; that it might be He had not said true; that the devil knew more than He; and that because the devil said it, and said he would put them into a better state, and do more for them than He, their Lord and Maker had done. Wherein they did not only set themselves to try a conclusion with God Himself, whether He could see them so sin, or be affected with such a sin, or cared to punish a sin, which, wheresoever such a contempt and tempting of Him is, amounts to very near as much as to doubt whether there be a God or no; but they surrendered up themselves likewise to His enemies, and adhered to the devil after. This made it a treacherous sin.

(4.) And lastly, all this deliberately, in a full conference entertained and had with the devil about it; after a confession that God had been with them before and forbidden them; after an acknowledgment that they had all the liberty of the world besides; and yet they did it when they had no provocation, no reason, no need to do it. This made it a wilful sin.

And all this put together; the sin of pride and ambition in themselves, of distrust and murmuring against God, of ingratitude to His bounty, of presumption against His will, and of a wilful rebellion against His express commandment, together with a treacherous adhering to His professed enemy; all this makes it the greatest sin that ever was, the sin that hath so disordered the world with all manner of other sins ever since[a].

[a] The nature and progressive character of Eve's sin is well discussed by Aquinas, 2. 2. q. 163, art. i.

All which I have urged the rather, and now more than I did before, to confirm and make good the tenor of the Scripture, and the truth of this point, against them that in this point especially,—in many others, but in this above others—suffer their fancies and their tongues to run so loosely against it. I do not imagine that there be any such among us, but we may meet with them now and then abroad, and it is not amiss that we should be always prepared for them.

I have but one thing more to add to this first part, and then I shall proceed to the second.

God is here brought in, as in some other places of the Scripture, in the person of a judge, enquiring after the fact, examining the party, and censuring the crime. So He proceeds here *secundum allegata et probata,* gives no sentence, gives neither reward nor punishment without a proof or an evidence first had for either.

First then, God proposes to Himself persons that are obsequious to His grace, and husband His grace well while they have it, and then He will reward with more grace; if they neglect it, if they use it ill, then He will punish, and take away that grace from them which they had before. But neither this nor that without His evidence either for them or against them.

For this purpose we are to take the saying of the Scripture either way; that as it is His delight to be with the sons of men, so it is His intent to see what they do, and to proceed according to their doings. There are that in these matters refer to His hidden and eternal decrees only, and will have all His proceedings to be that way, *in scrinio pectoris;* to give judgment before any act be done, good or bad; to award a man punishment before he commits any sin. He did not so here; and if that other were a right and just proceeding, then might the day of judgment be past already, and this inquisition here might have been spared. But I do not see how either justice, or reward, or punishment, can stand with that opinion[b].

Prov. 8. 31.
Gen. 11. 7.

[b] We must not forget that when Cosin wrote, that peculiar doctrine of Calvin which is generally styled the doctrine of Irrespective Decrees,—'*horribile illud decretum,*' as its propounder well denominated it, was preached in all its nakedness, and its advocates did not shrink, as they now do, from avowing the consequences which naturally resulted from it. A few

SERM. XVI.

Abscondita Deo nostro. The decrees of God are hid with God; if they be secret, we neither know them, nor are we to know them. This we know, and are all tied to take notice of it, that *revelata nobis*, those things of God which He hath revealed to men, those only are for us to know; and to know thus much besides, that He does not use to reveal one thing, nor to do any thing, and mean another. As He did here at first, so He will be sure to do ever after; to be no accepter or condemner of persons, as they are persons, but as they are persons well or ill disposed, and qualified by well or ill using the grace that He has given them. Other rule than this have we none to follow, nor did He follow here any other Himself, where He proceeds enquiring and examining and clearing the matter of fact before He sits down to give any sentence about it. Never shall any be able to say to Him otherwise than Abraham said to Him, Shall not the judge of all the earth do right? According to the evidence of our own actions, so will He do.

Gen. 18. 25.

Gen. 19. 1. God sent down His commissioners, the Angels, to Sodom, to enquire and inform Him how things went there. God comes down Himself here, to enquire and to know how it stood with Adam and Eve; not that He needed any information about them, or that He ever was, or ever can be, ignorant of any thing, either concerning them or us; for He knew well enough and had narrowly observed all the progress of their sin, as daily He does any of ours; but that He would prevent, both in them, and in every man of the world after them, that dangerous and unjust imagination, when they find themselves fallen into sin or misery, that God should first purpose to destroy a man, and then make him that He might destroy him, without having any other evidence against him.

Gen. 1. 27. For God made man *ad imaginem suam*, after His own image. If He had made him inevitably to be cast away and lost, He had made him *ad imaginem diaboli*, after the image of the devil, who was then lost and cast out of heaven. But God goes not out as a fowler, to kill for His pleasure. It is not He that seeks whom He may devour, He seeks whom He may save, and is willing to save them, though He saves no

1 Pet. 5. 8. Lu. 19. 10.

of these are noticed by Cosin in this place, but the subject did not require that they should be brought prominently forward.

nan against his will; and when He proceeds to condemn any nan, as here He did the first, He proposes not that man to Himself, either as He meant to make him, nor as He did make him, for He made him not sinful, but as by his sins he hath made and marred himself.

And therefore God does not say, here before, *alicui morte moriendum*, that somebody must die, and thereupon made somebody to be killed; but said only, *morte morieris*, you are yet alive, and may live still, but if you will not obey Me, then *morte moriendum* indeed, the wages of that sin will be Rom.6.23. death. So God did not at first make death, nor made He sickness, nor famine, nor pestilence, nor war, and then make man, that He might throw him into their mouths; but when man had thrown down himself into the danger and dominion of them, as it was told him before he should, if he sinned, Gen.2.17. thereupon God let him indeed fall into their mouths, and that was all. And this to free God from being the first author of any man's destruction. For no man can wish himself better than God intended him at first before the fall; no, nor than God intends him now, as great a sinner as he is after the fall, if but yet he will conform himself to His will, before He comes to enquire after him and give sentence upon him.

And so much for the inquisition that God made here after this sin, and the reason why He made it, when He said, 'What is this that thou hast done?'

II. I come now to the confession, and the answer that the woman made for herself, when she said, 'The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.'

In which answer we shall have some questions to resolve. First, concerning the truth of it, whether it were a real thing or no, that here she confesseth; for there are that would have nothing made of it, but a matter merely allegorical, of the serpent's beguiling, and of Eve's eating, and all.

Second, then concerning this serpent, what he was indeed.

And thirdly, what Eve supposed and took him to be.

Afterwards we are to say somewhat of the beguiling here, and the person upon whom that beguiling wrought. But I shall not reach these two last to-day.

(1.) And first therefore, for the truth of this story. The text is clear enough, both here and before, that there was a

SERM. XVI.

tree, a forbidden tree, whereof this woman did really eat; and that there was a serpent, a deceiving serpent, by whom she was really beguiled. Whereof religious and good men make no doubt; others do; the licentious wits of some men being so volatile and slippery, that no Scriptures, no truth, can fix them. And such men have herein delivered to the world an imaginary doctrine of their own, that both tree, and serpent, and paradise, and all, were nothing, and both mere allegories[c]; which came first either from the fancy of the heathen poets, whom they read rather than the Scriptures, or from Julian[d] the apostate and his master, Porphyry, whom in this case they are willing to follow.

Indeed the poets feigned, and they feigned not amiss, that men were transformed into divers shapes of beasts; thereby allegorically to shew the change of some men's conditions, from reason to brutality, and from virtue to vice. And as by the lively image of other creatures those ancients did represent the variable passions and affections of mortal men, so did the writers of the Scripture too, otherwhiles, from whom those heathens had their copy. An oppressor and a cruel man was made a lion; there is as much in the Psalm, My soul is among lions; men given to lust and sensuality were represented by a swine, there is as much in St. Peter, of one that wallows in the mire; a ravening and a greedy man was made a wolf, there is as much mentioned in the gospel, I send you forth as sheep among wolves; foolish and ignorant persons were set forth by an image, the images of stocks and stones; they are so in the Scriptures, They that make them are like unto them, and so are all they that put their trust in them. But the subtle and deceitful person is made a serpent, all by a metaphorical resemblance only, as they would have it here. So they say of the tree of knowledge, and of paradise itself; from whence the heathen poets fetched their garden of Hesperides and their tree of nectar[e].

Ps. 57. 4.

2 Pet. 2. 22.

Mat. 10. 16.

Ps. 135. 18.

[c] See S. Cyrill. Alexandri Opp., tom. vi. p. 82. ed. Auberti, Lut. 1638.

[d] Of these it may be enough to specify Origen among the ancients, concerning whom see Huet. Origen, lib. ii. q. 12. § 7. tom. i. p. 167. ed. 1668; Cajetan (see Pererius in Genes., lib. iv. cap. 10. q. 11. tom. i. p. 153. ed. Colon. 1622.) among the later theologians; and Rosenmuller and Wegscheider among the Germans.

[e] This is derived from Pererius in Genes., where he discusses the question, 'An sapientes gentilium ullam arboris vitæ notitiam habuerint?' tom. i. p. 102. Colon. 1622.

But as all those resemblances were no true stories, so this story here was no feigned resemblance. Allegories there are in Scripture and elsewhere, grounded upon real verities, and fetched from the truth of a story itself; yet as that hinders not but that the story may be true, so it does not turn the story itself into an allegory, nor the truth into a fiction; for since the one doth not exclude the other, they may both stand together.

For which purpose I will turn them to another piece of Scripture. St. Paul in his epistle to the Galatians, speaks of Agar and Sarah, and makes an allegory, or, because you may all understand me, a figure and a resemblance of them both; says that they signified the Old and the New Testaments; and that all this was spoken by an allegory. Yet to conclude from hence that they were nothing but an allegory, and to think they were not therefore two women, one the maid, and the other the wife of Abraham, were nothing else but folly. So it is in this place, where the words and the sense of the Scripture is manifest that such an earthly paradise there was, such a tree planted in the midst of that paradise, such a serpent persuading the woman to eat of that tree, and all real; called therefore the tree of knowledge of good and evil, not for any innate quality that it had of itself, to beget any such knowledge in them which they had not before, for they knew well enough how evil it was to break God's commandment, but to give them an experimental knowledge only[f], which they were like to find, if they brake that commandment, by the event and punishment that would follow upon it; as in the like case we say ourselves, they shall be made to know it now, of those that would not know it when they did, and took no warning before. For otherwise, Adam was of perfect knowledge, and could not be ignorant but that the disobeying of God's commandment was the fearfullest evil, and the observing of it the greatest good, that could ever befal him. But as men in perfect health know that sickness is grievous, and yet they feel it not till by experience they find it so, so was it with Adam and his tree of knowledge; which some men,

Gal. 4. 24.

[f] See Pererius in Genes., tom. i. p. 141, and also S. August. de Genesi ad litteram, lib. viii. cap. 13.

SERM. XVI.

not rightly understanding why it was so called, have thought to be no material tree at all. They might as well have said it was no well at all, the well of strife, which the herdsmen of Israel and Gerar contended for; nor no waters at all, the waters of strife, which the children of Israel contended for: for the waters had no such innate quality in them, to make any strife, and yet they were material and real waters still for all that; they were more than a metaphor. So was this tree of knowledge.

Gen. 26. 20. Num. 20. 13.

(2.) This then being set right, we come to the serpent here, to see what he was.

First, it was a serpent that could speak, for he held conference here with Eve a good while together; and then he gave her divers reasons, such as they were, to allure and persuade her to his purpose. Therefore it was none of the unreasonable and brute serpent itself, as Julian and his disciples, pleading against St. Cyril and his Church at Alexandria [g], said it was, if it were any thing, for that serpent had no language to speak withal, neither he nor any other beast of the field besides; and though some men have been so free and so fond of their fancies, as to think they had all a language at first [h], we read of them in the *parva Genesis*[i], a legend, and in Josephus's[j] Antiquities, yet no man ever said that they could speak the language of Eve; and how then could he confer with her? as this serpent did, or from whence could he know what commandment God had laid upon her and her husband? as this serpent also did. Besides, the natural serpent was at first a good creature of God, all was good that He made, and there was no evil in them. But this serpent that spake to Eve was altogether against goodness, and

p. 236.

Gen. 1. 31.

[g] S. Cyrill. Alexand. adv. Julian., lib. iii. tom. vi. p. 82. edit. Lut. 1638.

[h] Ὁμοφωνούντων δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τῶν ξώων ἁπάντων, ὁ ὄφις συνδιαιτώμενος τῷ τε Ἀδάμῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικί, φθονερῶς μὲν εἶχεν ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὺς εὐδαιμονήσειν ᾤετο, πεπεισμένους τοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ παραγγέλμασιν. Joseph. Antiq. Jud., lib. i. cap. 2. § 4. Opp., tom. i. p. 6. edit. Oxon. 1720. See Tostatus in Genes. quæst. 439. and Pererius, tom. i. p. 192. St. Basil appears to have entertained the same opinion.

[i] See Fabricius Codex Pseudepigr. Veteris Testam., tom. i. p. 849. edit. Hamb. 1713.

[j] Secundum, quænam fuerit vox illa serpentis, quæ sermocinatio? Nam vulgus credit, ut fabulis teritur, in ipso mundi exordio non homines tantum sed et omnia prorsus animantia loqui et sermocinari consuevisse; quod quidem vanum et ridiculum est. Fernand. in Gen., tom. i. col. 241. See also some further speculations of the same nature mentioned by Euseb. de Præpar. Evang., lib. xii. cap. 9.

seduces her to evil. Last of all, the punishment here inflicted upon the serpent, though part of the former part might belong to the unreasonable serpent, yet the latter part of it could not; the reason whereof I shall shew you when I come to that verse hereafter.

It remains therefore that it must be some other serpent besides him; and so it was. It was that old serpent the devil, as the Scriptures every where style him, that took either the body or the shape of the other serpent upon him, and therein came thus to speak and thus to persuade and beguile the woman here as he did. Rev. 12. 9.

And that thus it was, the Scriptures are clear; where the Prophets and Apostles, whenever they have occasion to speak of the first coming in of sin and death into the world, they ascribe it to him. In the Old Testament; For God created man to be immortal, saith Solomon, and made him to be an image of His own eternity; but through the envy of the devil came death into the world. In the New; The devil was the murderer from the very beginning, saith Christ Himself; the murderer of all men, and the father of all lies; of which this was one, that he told to Eve here at the fourth verse, that if she would hearken to him, she should not surely die. I am afraid, saith St. Paul, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted, and yourselves seduced from the truth and the sincerity of Christ's religion. They that so go about seducing, to teach any other doctrine than he taught, he calls them Satan's ministers; and wherever they come to you for that end, ye are to take them for no other. Wis. 2. 23. Joh. 8. 44. 2 Cor. 11. 3. 2 Cor. 11. 15.

From hence it is, that as sin is called the poison of serpents, in the Psalms, so they that are poisoned with it and give themselves over to it, are called a generation of serpents in the Gospel; and he that poisons them, a piercing and a crooked serpent, in Isaiah; a scorpion or a stinging serpent, in St. Luke; a dragon and the old serpent, in St. John. Ps. 58. 4. Mat. 3. 7; 12. 34, &c. Isa. 27. 1. Lu. 10. 19. Rev. 20. 2.

And this serpent it was that here seduced the woman, in the form and shape of a natural serpent; from taking which form and shape upon him here at first, he had his name given him ever after. It is usually said that he possessed and entered into the body of the serpent; most of the best

SERM. XVI.

writers[k] that I have met withal, incline to say, and so do I, that he took only his shape or likeness upon him and was but *personatus serpens*, as in Saul's case he was but personating Samuel. Somewhat it is that Peter Lombard[l], the Master of the Sentences, says to this matter. He proposes two questions, the first why God would permit the devil to tempt our first parents at all; and he resolves that out of St. Austin, that it was *ad exercitium obedientiæ*[m], for the exercise and trial of their obedience, whether they would stand a temptation out or no, as they had grace, strength, and ability to have done it if they would; and if they had stood it out, it had been on God's part but like the trial of Abraham, they would have got the more glory by it, as he did by his, *quia gloriosius esset tentanti non consensisse, quam tentari non potuisse*, it had been a greater glory for them not to have given way to the temptation, not to be overcome with it, than not to have been tempted at all. Therefore, says Luther well, God deals with us as He dealt with our first parents. No sooner did He create them, but He suffered the tempter to come to them; no sooner doth He baptize us, but He puts us in mind to resist the tempter; for one or other of these tempters, whom we there promise to resist, will be with us all our life long: with us to make us run into sin, with us to make us run away from our religion, with us to make us murmur and give over hope in time of affliction, every way and every where with us; and all this by the special providence and permission of God, and for the greater trial of our faith and obedience towards Him, to prove us

[k] Quinta et ultima sententia est, quam nos solam approbamus et amplectimur, fuisse in ea tentatione verum et naturalem serpentem, in quem tamen sese diabolus insinuavit, et per eum quasi per organum suum formavit voces humanas, et sermonem cum Eva miscens, callida et malitiosa tentatione eam decepit. Hæc sententia est probata fere Patribus, ut videre licet apud Basilium, Chrysostomum, et Theodoretum, Bedam et Rupertum, in suis vel Homiliis vel Quæstionibus vel Commentariis in Genesim, apud Damascenum, lib. ii. de Fide Orthodoxa, cap. x. et apud Magist. Sent., lib. ii. dist. 21. et ibid. Scholasticos Theologos: quam sententiam plurimis et disertissimis verbis explicat tueturque Augustinus tam in libris de Civitate Dei (lib. xiv. cap. 11.) quam in Genesi ad litteram, (lib. ii. cap. 27.) Perer. ad Genes., tom. i. p. 194.

[l] Præterea quæri solet cur Deus hominem tentari permiserit quem diripiendum fore præsciebat? Sed non esset laudabile homini si ideo bene vivere posset, quia nemo male vivere suaderet; cum in natura posset et in potestate habere vellet non consentire suadenti, Deo juvante; et est gloriosius non consentire quam tentari non posse. (August. super Gen., lib. ii. cap. 4.) P. Lombardi Sentent., lib. ii. distinct. 23. A.

[m] Pet. Lomb., lib. ii. dist. 21 A.

how steadfastly we will hold to Him. Which faith, if it holds out the trial and changes not, grows not the worse for it, is a trial more precious, saith St. Peter, than that of gold, the trial of gold in the fire, where the pure and true metal wasteth not at all. This was an answer to Lombard's first question, why God would suffer Eve to be tempted by the devil. 1 Pet. 1. 7.

The second is, why He would suffer the devil to come to her in the likeness of a serpent?

And this he resolves first, in the general, that in some likeness or other he was to come, when he came to tempt and seduce; otherwise if he had come altogether unmasked, in his own likeness, he would have been taken for no tempter at all, and there would have been no trial neither, no conversing, no conference entertained with him at all. A tempter must shroud himself in another form, and ever come in some likeness that is a little better than his own. There are them that have wished to see the devil; they shall never see him as he is yet, that must be reserved for another time; but in the several forms of temptation they may see him every day. And though the woman at Endor could help Saul to a sight of him; yet in his own likeness, it was past her skill and her permission to do it, for this is one of the chains that are cast upon those evil spirits, wherewith the devil and his angels are bound up, who are reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, saith St. Jude, unto the judgment of the great day, never to appear in their own proper likeness till then. 1 Sam. 27 8. Jude 6.

In some other therefore it was to be. For which other in particular God[n] permitted him here to appear in the likeness of a serpent, who among all the beasts of the field was said to be the wiliest and the most subtle creature of all the rest, that thereby both the malice and subtilty of the devil's nature might be the better expressed, for that was most agreeable to him, and Eve also from thence have the better warning by him what his nature and his drift was, the better to take heed of him. For otherwise if he might have had his own will, and been suffered to come in what likeness he would Gen. 3. 1.

[n] Non est putandum quod diabolus serpentem per quem tentaret elegerit; sed cum decipere cuperet, non potuit nisi per quod animal posset a Deo permissus est. Nocendi enim cupiditas inest cuique a se, sed potestas a Deo solo est. S. August. de Genesi ad litteram, lib. ii. cap. 3.

SERM. XVI.

have chosen himself, peradventure, says the Master of the Schools, and it is most likely, that the devil would have rather chosen the likeness of a dove than the likeness of a serpent, the sooner to deceive her[o].

And so from this first point, what he was, we are now come at last to the second,—for that will be all I shall be able to despatch to-day—what Eve here supposed and took him to be.

The question is, whether she took him to be the serpent, or one of the evil spirits in the serpent's likeness? If we say she took him to be the natural and brute serpent, we run upon the former rock; it will be unreasonable to imagine it, that she,—who wanted nothing of the perfection of all knowledge and the insight into the nature and condition of all creatures then, when she was in the state of her integrity, —should not better know the nature and condition of a brute serpent, than to think that one of them could speak and discourse to her, could persuade and argue with her like a reasonable creature[p]. Then that was not it.

Again, if we say she knew him to be the devil, who had got that shape upon him; if she knew him to be one of those wicked spirits whom she knew to be fallen from their Maker, as she did, there will be another question to assoil and answer. Why did she then converse with him? Why did she listen to him at all[q]?

For the answering of which question, besides her curiosity that here transported her, and the liberty of her will that gave her leave for her trial to converse with any creature or spirit whatsoever, we are likewise to enquire what inducements she had to converse with this spirit rather in this kind of likeness, the likeness of a serpent, than another.

p. 237. First, this she knew, that the serpent was the wisest and the subtlest of all the beasts of the field that God had made; this chapter begins with it, and thereby implies the woman's

[o] Ut ergo in propria forma non veniret, voluntate sua propria factum est; ut autem in forma suæ malitiæ congruenti veniret, divinitus factum est. Venit ergo ad hominem in serpente, qui forte, si permitteretur, in columbæ specie venire maluisset. Pet. Lomb. Sentent., lib. ii. dist. 21. B.

[p] Tho. Aquin. in 1 par. q. 94. art. ult.

[q] See Pererius in Genes., tom. i. p. 196, where he discusses the question, 'Cur Eva non obstupuerit audiens secum loquentem et disputantem serpentem.'

opinion of the devil's wisdom; who, unless he had been a very knowing and sagacious spirit, would never have taken the shape of that subtle creature upon him. For otherwise to what end are these words here spoken? This therefore I suppose she knew.

Secondly, this she knew also, that a spirit, if he will be conversed withal, must present himself in some corporal shape or other; for in reason we know as much ourselves, that otherwise there can be no conversing with him; and the most knowing of us all are far short of Eve, of the perfect knowledge that she had then, as in all things else, so in this, which we know still; that as in natural and bodily things, unless those things have some proportion each to other, there can be no intercourse of action between them; which is the law that God has ordained them. So likewise in things invisible, which therefore converse not with things that are visible, but in a visible form. And this is so true, that all the Scripture over we shall not find any such invisible spirit presented, whether good or bad, to men here below, but they come in some corporal figure or other, even in the very dreams and visions of the night; which is enough to confute their vanity that say they would fain see a spirit; for a spirit, as he is, cannot be seen. This therefore I suppose likewise that Eve knew well. p. 237.

Thirdly, and lastly, this she knew, that as these spirits, if at any time they were permitted to come, they were to come in some outward and visible form, so was the form always to be such as might best, less or more, resemble their condition. In which respect we shall not read that God ever suffered a good and a bad spirit, a noble and an ignoble one, an Angel and a devil to appear unto men after the same fashion. Therefore good Angels never came in any other shape but the shape of a man; and not in his neither, as he is now, fallen into the deformity of age and sin, but as he was in his glorious beauty of integrity and lustre before his fall. So of the Angel that appeared in the Gospel, it is said there that his countenance was like lightning and his raiment as white as snow; all in glory and perfection, all in sublimity and purity. Whereas on the contrary, the bad angels come either in no human shape at all; or if they do, it is as it was at p. 238. Mat. 28. 3.

SERM. XVI. Endor, commonly like an old decrepit man with a mantle upon his shoulder. And yet were they not suffered to come in that form of man neither before his fall; the case is otherwise now, and no marvel, since one fallen star may well resemble another. But while man was in his integrity and perfection, the devil might not be then suffered to take his form upon him at all. For being himself fallen, through his pride and ambition, from his own state of glory and perfection which he had above, he was now permitted to appear in that shape only which might declare his present state of abasement and imperfection here below, to which end and purpose there was nothing more fit for him than the shape of a serpent.

1 Sam. 28. 14.

p. 239. Now put all these together and there needs not such a wonder to be made, as otherwhiles, for want of searching into the reasons and grounds of this Scripture, there is; either why the devil should come in the form of a serpent, or why Eve in that form should entertain him. For though she knew him to be one of the abased spirits, not permitted to appear in any sensible form[r], yet by the shape he came and appeared in, the shape of the subtlest creature that was in the field, she concluded with herself that he was a very subtle and sagacious spirit, likely enough to search further into God's meaning and to know more of it by his own experience, than she yet did[s]. And this undid her.

The conclusion of all is, that her high opinion of the excellent wit and sagacity that was in this spirit, and the strong apprehension that she had of his great knowledge and wisdom above her own, and above the word of God, and all, made her clean forget both herself and it, and so brought her to her ruin.

A lesson for us all to take timely heed of all those evils which the craft and subtilty of the devil or man worketh against us; not over hastily to be carried away with a sudden apprehension and a high opinion of men's excellent wits and abilities, whatever they are, without a special eye and regard first had to the known words and commandments of God;

[r] Perer. in Genes., lib. v. q. 4. § 35. tom. i. p. 170.

[s] See S. Tho. i. p. q. 94, art. 4. ad 2, and the opinions which are examined by Estius in lib. ii. Sentent. dist. 21. § 4, in answer to the question, 'Cur mulier serpentem cumque loquentem non horruerit.'

the neglect whereof, both in matters of religion and in matters of moral life, and all, hath ever been, and now is, the greatest occasion of the greatest errors and wickedness in the world, whiles the devil under this mask and in this cup carries some serpentine poison for us to drink. A theme I have no time to prosecute now, but I will resume it again in the next sermon, for this is done, and I think the hour is done. We are to go to the Sacrament.

Where we shall have a spiritual meat to eat, and a cup to drink of the New Testament that will cure us of the serpent's poison which we contracted here from the Old. I told you besides of *calix dæmoniorum*. We have all been eating of this forbidden fruit and tasting of that forbidden cup, more or less, every one of us, as well as our mother Eve. And there is no cure for us, but this that Christ brings us, for He drank off our cup of wrath, the fruit of our sins, that we might drink His cup of blessing, the fruit of His passion. Which He of His mercy make effectual to us, That prepared that cup and endured that passion for us, Jesus Christ the righteous, to Whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one eternal Deity, be all honour and glory, now and for evermore. Amen.

SERMON XVII.

PARIS, MARCH 26, 1651. [NEW STYLE].

QUINTA DOMINICA QUADRAGESIMÆ.

We shall make an end to-day of our last text in the third chapter of Genesis, the thirteenth verse.

And the woman said, the serpent beguiled me.

SERM. XVII.

Two questions there were; first, what this serpent was indeed; and secondly, what Eve supposed him to be.

I told you of resemblances that were no true stories; I made good this story to be no feigned resemblance.

For first, it was a serpent here that could speak, and hold conference with Eve a good while together; and then it was a serpent that could dispute and give her divers reasons, such as they were, against the precept that God had given her before.

see p. 228.

Which makes it clear that it would be none of the natural and brute serpent, this, as Julian the apostate said it was, who would needs take it for no other, and thereupon both rejected this story and blasphemed all the Holy Scriptures besides, that depend upon it. But, as St. Cyril, that was in his time the Patriarch of Alexandria, told him, there was never any man before him so unreasonable as to think or say it was the unreasonable serpent itself; for how could that creature, that had no language at all, confer with Eve in her own language, as this serpent did? Or from whence should he take knowledge what commandment God had laid upon her, as this serpent likewise did, before she had told him of it? Never let Julian, never let any of his disciples, trouble

themselves about the brute serpent; Moses here meant another; and for some other person, that had assumed upon him that shape only, did Eve take him.

She took him to be, as he was, one of those spirits that had been in heaven; and though now fallen down from his first station, yet having once been there, was likely enough to know more than she did, which tempted her to her curiosity, and that curiosity undid her.

For the better understanding whereof, we are to reflect here (1.) upon the form wherein he appeared;

(2.) Then upon himself;

(3.) And next upon the woman, who says now she was beguiled by him. Three heads whereof this sermon will be made.

But before we begin to preach, I am to invite you all to pray, as for God's grace and blessing upon us now, so that now and always ye would make your daily supplications and prayers for the good estate of Christ's Catholic Church, and for the peace and welfare of all Christian kings and princes.

More especially for the distressed estate &c.

Pater Noster, &c.

That we may apprehend this Scripture right, we are to reflect first, upon the form wherein this seducing spirit was permitted to appear. And somewhat we began to say of it before; now we go on.

It is said here at the beginning of this chapter, that the serpent was subtle, the subtlest of all the other beasts of the field which God had made. And this we will suppose that both the evil spirit knew, who therefore meant to make his use of it; and that Eve knew it besides, who for that very reason was taken with a high opinion of this spirit's wisdom, and conceived him to be no other than a very subtle and sagacious spirit at least, that had gotten that form of a subtle and a wise serpent upon him, above all others making choice of that. p. 232.

Then this likewise we must suppose, that in his own proper likeness he could not any way either confer with her, p. 233.

SERM. XVII.

or appear to her at all; for then there had been no proportion between them, without which there is not any intercourse of action or passion in any thing. A general and an experienced law that, which God hath ordained to all things; and therefore things invisible and removed from our senses, must be one way or other made to be sensible to us, before we can have any conversing with them. Which is so true, that all the Scripture over, we shall not find any of these created spirits, whether good or bad, appearing and presenting themselves to men, but in some bodily figure or other. Therefore the woman at Endor, when Saul came to her and desired her to let him have a sight of the devil, that he might the better confer with him, though she had leave to fetch him up, yet in his own likeness to do it, it was beyond her skill and her permission both. For this is one of the devil's chains, whereof St. Jude speaks when he says the devil and his angels are bound up and reserved in everlasting chains of darkness, there to remain unto the judgment of the great day, and never to appear in their own likeness till then; and then they shall see him soon enough that have been so desirous to see him before; but as yet he shall never be seen as he is, nor he, nor any spirit of them all. And it is no way improbable to say, that Eve here knew as much.

1 Sam. 28. 14.

Jude 6.

p. 233. Thirdly, this she might well know besides; that as they came not in their own likeness, so the likeness they came in was less or more a resemblance of their own condition, and a token of what nature and quality they had in them. In which respect we shall never read again, unless it be in a legend, that God ever suffered a good and a bad spirit, a noble and an ignoble one, to appear and come to men after one and the same manner; but good Angels always in the likeness of men, and in that likeness wherein man was at first created, without any deformities of sin or age upon him, when he was yet in a state of perfection and beauty, the better to express the state and condition that those glorious Angels now have; bad angels either appearing in no human figure at all, or else with those marks of malice and impurity upon them, as might best also express their own malicious property and condition with it. Indeed it is no great wonder now, if since the fall of man, this seducing spirit comes other-

whiles to them that will entertain him, in the likeness of seducing and wicked men, in a human shape now; but before the fall there was no such permission given him, for because fallen into the state of imperfection and wickedness himself, which as yet man was not, the state of man's perfection and integrity was not yet for him. Afterwards it might well be, for one falling star may well enough resemble another; but he being withal a subtle and a wily spirit, there was nothing more agreeable for him to assume now, nor, as we see it proved too, more likely to win the woman's great opinion of his wisdom, and to take her in his snare, than to take this shape of the subtle and wily serpent, which he knew that she also knew to be then the wisest and the subtlest creature of the field. Since the curse that went here upon the devil and him together, the case may be altered, but then it was so.

All which put together, renders this text to be somewhat the clearer, and not altogether so improbable even to very natural reason and sense itself as some men, that never yet sat down to weigh and consider it well, have imagined it to be. p. 234.

But if we add the sense that all the other Scriptures have given it, as we have great reason, and the greatest of the world to believe what they say in all things, so we shall have the greatest authority of the world that can be given us for this particular.

The authority of the Prophets, and Apostles, and of Christ Himself, who whenever they have occasion to speak of the first coming in of sin and death into the world, they reflect all upon this story; and from the form and figure of a serpent, that the devil was permitted to take upon him here at the beginning, they gave him his name and express his nature by it ever after. I need not trouble you with many places. St. Paul, where he tells us of the serpent that beguiled Eve, he calls that serpent the devil, and says he is afraid of him still, lest he should by his under-agents be as busy with any of us, as he was with her, and get away from us either the truth of our religion or the sincerity of our life. p. 229. 2 Cor. 11. 3.

And hence it is, that as sin is called the poison of serpents, in the Psalms; so they that are poisoned with it are called a generation of serpents, in the Gospel; and he that poisons Ps. 58. 4. Mat. 23. 33.

SERM. XVII.

them, a piercing and a biting serpent, in the Prophets; a scorpion and a stinging serpent, a dragon and the old serpent, in St. John. And so we have done with his form, that here he assumed, or was permitted to assume upon himself.

Isa. 27. 1. Amos 9. 3. Ezek. 2. 6. Rev. 20. 2; 12. 9.

II. The next point is, what Eve took him to be, and the excellency of that wit and sagacity that she conceived to be in him; for both by his appearing to her, first in this manner as he did, and then by telling her such strange news out of heaven, as well concerning God there, from Whose presence he was lately departed, therefore knew His mind better than she did, as concerning herself here, whom out of his special care and regard towards her, as he made her believe, he was now come to save and preserve for ever; such an opinion he had by this time bred in her that she took him to be no less than a spirit of some extraordinary wisdom and knowledge at the least, likely enough to help her to more skill and to bring her into a better estate than God had formerly provided for her. But this undid her, when she laid aside God's own word and listened after another.

It undoes all the world, this; and has been, as it was here at first, this conceited opinion of getting more help by others than we are ever like to do by God Himself, the greatest cause of the greatest mischief and errors in the world.

For from hence came in all the old idolatry and corruptions of the world, when having men's persons in admiration, as St. Jude speaks, because of some advantage that they looked for from them, they served them better and trusted them more, both alive and dead, than they did the God of heaven and earth, Whom they knew all had made them all to another purpose. But advantage and interest, wherein they were deceived too as well as Eve was here, carried it then, and so does it still.

Jude 16.

Else, how comes the new-found idolatry to be exalted and continued in the world so much as it is? *nisi quia inde acquisitio nobis*, as Demetrius and the craftsmen said of that spirit which they called their Diana, but that they promise themselves more by it, more indulgence for this life and more security for the next than ever they can hope to receive at God's hands, if they should keep themselves so precisely to His express word which He hath enjoined them?

Acts 19. 24.

The devil told Eve that it might be all that God said was not true, and she believed him; they do little less that say more is true than God ever revealed to us, and credit a lying spirit that speaks traditions and revelations to them of their own making, more than they do all that Moses and the Prophets have said besides.

This made St. Paul to say that the mystery of iniquity began thus to work even in his time; and he meant no other mystery but the bringing in of new devices in religion, and giving ear to seducing spirits, which he calls there the doctrines of devils, reflecting upon this story where the devil preached to Eve another manner of doctrine than God had ever taught her. But such doctrines never come alone; the Apostle says they used to bring a train after them, and so they do, the train of all manner of sins and iniquities, wherever they are; which was the fruit that it brought forth here, besides all other mischiefs and miseries of the world that followed it after; as such miseries, unless it be in most places better heeded and better restrained than we see yet it is, are like to follow it still.

2Thes.2.7. 1Tim.4.1. 1 Tim. 2. 13. 1 Tim. 4. 1—4.

I will say no more in this point, but that we ought so heedfully to admit and entertain a tempter, when at any time those evil spirits come to us to corrupt either our life or religion, as that God's eternal word and commandment be ever in our eye; without which fixed pole-star to guide us, we shall be carried we know not whither; but Eve was carried here to her ruin.

And so I come to the third point, and the last; that this tempter, this serpentine devil, beguiled her.

III. There is a guile in every sin of the world: I shall shew you both what it is, and what it was here; for guile is nothing else but a piece of the devil's sophistry to deceive us with a false syllogism, the premises whereof being both counterfeit, needs must the conclusion be altogether erroneous. It argues for a seeming good, and ends in a real evil; pretending to pleasure us, it either bereaves us of that good we hoped for, or brings upon us that evil which we never expected. Such a deceit there is, and such another practical syllogism do we all make, in every sin we commit. For as the root is, so are the branches; and from this root and

Rom. 11. 16.

SERM. XVII.

practice here at the beginning came the offspring of sin ever since.

There are in every action, and so in every sin, two things whereof it consists; the choice of our end, and the means to attain that end. If either of these be wrong, there is a sin committed; and in both of them is this practical sophistry to be seen, which the schools call a fallacy, and we the deceit or guile of sin.

These two they are, either when an evil end is presented to us in the counterfeit of a good, and so we find ourselves deceived in the event; or else when we use such means as be neither lawful nor sufficient to attain our end, and so we find ourselves deceived in the premises; being both so masked and covered over with a seeming advantage, that they appear to us in a likeness far otherwise than they are.

And with both these sorts of guile was she here deceived. So are we all.

1. First, in the end, by making it seem a thing desirable and above all other ends to aim at, this, that she might have her own will, and do what she list; for then she should be like unto God Himself, and be an independent; no power in
Gen. 3. 5. heaven and earth should control her, a bait laid to take her and gilded over with *Eritis sicut dii*, which seems to be one of the most desirable things of the world. This deceived her first.

Then in the means, next, by persuading her that if the end be good and desirable, as it did but seem to be neither, she might then take her liberty again, and make use of any means whatsoever to compass it; though it were the breach of God's severe commandment to the contrary, not to stand upon it, or regard ever a precept of them all, but to venture, and put Him to it whether that which He had said were true or no, or the danger so great as He had made it. For either it was not so certain as it might seem to be, or else that iniquity which might be in the action would be countervailed abundantly, both with the end and advantage that should be gotten by it, for she should be made what she would, and with the content and delight that she should find in it be-
Gen. 3. 6. sides, for it was a pleasant thing to look upon, and some contentment there is to do that which we are forbidden, for then we have our will, and there is no lord over us for the while.

This being then the devil's method to tempt us to sin, in this his first act we may behold, as in a glass, the art that he still uses to corrupt the world, and to bring it to utter destruction. All his method is nothing else but guile. He presents all things fair and pleasant to the view; and if there be any evil in them, that he hides with his mantle, and suffers not any sin to appear before us in its own ugly and deformed shape that it has of itself, for so every one would fly from it, but presents works of vice and darkness as objects of beauty and delight; and when he plots our ruin and everlasting undoing, he bears us in hand that all aims at our contentment and felicity.

It behoves us to be jealous and suspicious of him, though we see him not all our life long. For he will neither let us see him, nor our sins, in their own likeness, as they are, no more now than he did here at first.

In all which that the disguise may be pulled off, and the guile that lies under it be seen the better, let us consider and look upon them both again.

The end, first, *Eritis sicut dii*, you shall do what you will and depend upon nobody for your actions; the height and glory of which end so strongly possessed her aspiring fancy that the means to attain that end, whether it were good or bad, she little regarded, but that end must now be only prosecuted and had. And as one that always looks upward in his walk, and sees not the danger that lies in the path wherein he goes, till he falls into a pit, so was it here; nothing regarded but the state and glory of what was proposed, in what condition she should be then. *Eritis sicut dii*, was the state, and *morte moriemini* was the pit. Gen. 3. 5.

Ero similis Altissimo, says the devil; the great leviathan himself bit at that bait and was taken with it. So are the lesser creatures after him; *Capitur, sed capit;* it deceives them, it undoes them all that meddle with it. And this by his own experience he knew well enough, that had tried it and found it to be so already. Isa. 14. 14.

This sets him at work for others; and he gets men to propose ends to themselves of being at more liberty and greatness than they are, that when they are out of God's ordering they may fall into his and come into the disorder and ruin

SERM. XVII.

which he fell into himself. For the truth is, there are no such disorderly, no such miserable persons in the world, nor nearer akin to the devil, than those are that suffer themselves to be cheated by him, as she here did; out of God's awe and service, which is perfect freedom, to take his, the devil's livery of liberty and independency upon them, which is perfect slavery, a perpetual servitude both to his lusts and their own.

Jas. 1. 25.

Which made Luther to wish, and truly not much amiss, as he was once preaching upon this text, and considering the mischiefs that this desire and practice of liberty had brought into the world, *Si mihi nunc optio daretur*, 'If I might have my mind,' *nollem mihi dari, nollem ullis uspiam hominibus dari hanc arbitrii libertatem*, 'I would neither have any freedom of my will myself, and I would that neither Eve nor any of her posterity had ever had it.' For he saw such ill use made of it by all manner of persons, both in matters of religion and in the affairs of the world, that he judged them only the happiest who had least to do with it. And this made him write his book *De*[a] *servo arbitrio*; not that man had no free-will at all, but that he knew not how to use it to a right end, without suffering the devil to abuse it, and divert it to a wrong; for God He had bounded it with a law, and liberty will be lawless, will have no bounds to keep it in, nor inclosures to limit it.

It is a ranging and an inconsiderate will that most men have, of a temper so strangely miswrought by this first corruption, that every one must do now what is right in his own eyes, or else there shall be neither any king in Israel nor any God upon the earth. *Eritis sicut dii* will not yet be got out of them, till *morte morieris* comes; but then it will be found what conference they have had with this wicked spirit, and that the serpent it was, whoever they are, that beguiled them all.

This is the lawless end and purpose that was here aimed at, wherein the first part of the devil's guile appeared; for it was no true desirable end at all, it was the ground of all pride and disorder, and she persisted in it besides.

2. But then secondly, say the end had been allowable and

[a] Opp., tom. iii. fol. 165[b]. edit. 1557.

the event good, yet if the means to attain that end be not good and allowable besides, there is another guile committed; and so it was here. Where the devil persuades her that to compass her end she might do any thing, make bold with God's severe commandment, and all; and seeing there was no other means left to do it, to venture upon that.

Wherein the fallacy lies, either in that false rule that some evil may be done in case of assurance, or hope, that some good shall come of it; or in that groundless suggestion that men are made to be more afraid of God's commandments than they need to be, and that the danger of transgressing them is not so great nor so perilous as the world is borne in hand withal it is.

Two cases here first brought and suggested by the devil, whereof the world, this flesh and blood of Eve to which they are both plausible, and that would fain have it so, hath made but an ill use ever since; for they do but deceive and beguile themselves in them both.

I ask, first, what evil may not this produce; if any evil may be done or permitted, that any good may come of it, as she here thought there would? Extend it further to any case. It is not lawful in any act of our life, not lawful in religion itself to do any evil act whatsoever, either to maintain the one or to preserve the other, not to preserve the world itself. For all the world is not worth one sin; and it is no paradox to say it. For sin takes life, the life of man and the life of religion, and all, the soul of them both; and what would not a man give for his life? not only skin for skin, and all that Job 2. 4. he has, but all the world besides if he had it, all should go, which, if it were worth more, he would not then so easily part withal. But for matters of life, first, they that do any evil to maintain it, if they come to lose it by that evil, it is but an evil bargain they make for it; though they say it is to keep themselves from starving, yet if it be the forbidden fruit, under which term all manner of sin was here presented, there must be no meddling with it.

For was it lawful for them in the wilderness to run back again into the bondage of Egypt that they might keep themselves from starving? It was one of the devil's suggestions that, and St. Paul wishes us to take notice what success it

SERM. XVII. had, when God grew so angry with them for it, that in the same wilderness He destroyed them all.

1 Cor. 10. 5. Then for matters of religion, to preserve that, or for the avoiding of a greater evil, to prevent that. Was it lawful for

Ex. 32. 2. Aaron to take the people's ear-rings, and to allow them a fond idolatrous religion of their neighbours, that he might keep them in some order, and save himself from stoning? It is the same case with them at this day, or very near it, that say for their excuse they must of necessity give way to the madness of their people, and permit them somewhat to busy themselves withal, or else there would be no religion at all, nor no living among them. Which 'somewhat,' if we instance but in two cases, that of images, which was Aaron's case, in setting them up to be openly adored; that of prostitutions, which was Lot's case, in setting those houses open, to be publicly and allowably frequented: which they say they do to keep up the people's devotion by the one, and to avoid a worse mischief by the other, both these. There is never a person of religion and judgment among them, but they know well enough there is an open breach of God's indispensable commandments in them both; which is more than Aaron or Lot did, having no other argument to excuse it but what the serpent here beguiled Eve withal; that the danger in these matters is not so great, nor the venturing upon a transgression in this kind so evil, but that it may be licensed and allowed well enough to procure a greater good; though the truth be, that in all ages there has nothing more procured the wrath of God to come down upon the children of disobedience, which is the

Eph. 5. 6. Apostle's own expression, than these two sins of spiritual and carnal luxury; excuse them, they that do so, as long as they will, the Prophets said ever that the rest of the world suffers for them. But when the master of the politics shall come in with his rapine and spoil, his treachery and his murder, even of them that are never so innocent, of kings and princes, and all, if they stand in his way, as the Florentine secretary[b], and somebody else does, from whom they had it all that have lately put all this in practice; and when all this, as evil as it is, begins to be made an allowable and a needful means for the procuring of that end which they call the general good of a

[b] Machiavelli.

state, for my part I am apt to believe that since this beguiler here hath so generally corrupted the world, the world that began here and is now grown so old with sin, will shortly be at an end.

And then what manner of persons ought we to be, in the actions of our life and religion both? to be wary of any evil that may assail either, and to practise that only which we shall be sure will be pleasing to God in them both; for evil men and seducers, saith St. Paul, shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived. 2 Tim. 3. 13.

I could go on to other instances, but by these you may take the measure of many a number more, wherein this deceiver makes the world believe that they shall never be called to an account for their sins. It is either he, or, as St. James says of them that go to hear sermons and are never the better for them; it is themselves beguiling their own souls with it, which is the worst deceit of all. But whether it be he, or they, or both, as indeed both it is, here is a judge Who, as He came to enquire of this woman here about it at first, so will He do ere long of all her posterity after her; when neither one excuse nor other will serve the turn, but judgment will follow upon them that follow this serpent and his seducers, a doom to misery and pain, whereof this that was first given upon all the three transgressors here in the next verses, was but an earnest and a type of what should come hereafter;—but upon them that have gotten their heels out of his snares, and made their peace with one God and Christ, blessed for ever, Who came into the world to deliver us from these snares, and to break the serpent's head in pieces,—to them a doom of everlasting joy and happiness, whereof this paradise here before was an earnest, and that in His eternal kingdom of glory, whereunto God of His mercy bring us all; to Whom belongeth all holiness, honour, and power, now and for evermore. Amen. Jas. 1. 22.

SERMON XVIII.

PARIS, APRIL 16, 1651. [NEW STYLE.]

IN OCTAVA RESURRECTIONIS.

JOHN XX. 9.

Nondum enim sciebant Scripturas, &c.

For as yet they knew not the Scriptures, that He must rise from the dead.

SERM. XVIII.

THIS day is the octave, that is, the return and the renewing of Easter day itself; wherein the text was, as this is, of Christ's rising again the third day according to the Scriptures; St. Paul's text to the Corinthians[a].

What those Scriptures were in particular, we had no time then to set forth, but reserved them till now; and now we shall go on.

It is said here of St. Peter and St. John, that as yet they knew not those Scriptures; for want of which knowledge it was that at first they doubted whether Christ was risen or no.

But afterwards, *Cum aperuerit illis mentem, ut intelligerent Scripturas,* when He had opened their wits, that they might understand the Scriptures, they believed them better than their own eyes, and doubted nothing of it at all.

It behoves us to know what those Scriptures be, that as yet they knew not; whereunto we are referred both by them, and by Christ Himself, for a more clear and evident proof of

[a] This sermon is not preserved; it is probable that the text was taken from some of the versicles appointed to be used in Morning Service instead of the Psalm, 'O come, let us sing unto the Lord.'

His resurrection than any their own senses afforded them, or than ours would have afforded us, if we had lived in their days and seen Christ rising out of His grave.

The words relate, first, to the knowledge of the Scriptures, and the Scriptures relate to the knowledge of the resurrection, which is so needful a point to be known and believed by us all, that without this we shall believe nothing else, and without the Scriptures we shall not believe this.

To reflect therefore, as the text leads us, first, upon them here that knew not the Scriptures, and then on those Scriptures that as yet they knew not, relating to the resurrection; where we will first look upon the certainty of it, that so it was.

Next upon the necessity of it, that so it behoved to be, that Christ must rise from the dead.

These two to confirm us, first, in our faith, and then to establish us in our hope, together with the virtue and operation that they ought to have, both of them, upon our lives, will be the heads and parts of our sermon to follow.

Of which that, &c., ... we beseech, &c., ... putting you in mind to pray, both now and always, for the good estate, &c., ... more especially for the distressed estate of the kingdom and Church in, &c., ... and therein for our sovereign lord and master, Charles, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in all causes over all persons, within his own dominions by the right and title, supreme governor.

For our gracious lady the queen, and all the royal family; for the king's honourable council, and all the nobility; for the reverend prelates of the Church and all the clergy; for the universities and all the people.

Rendering likewise praise for all God's mercies and favours over us, among which favours specially to reckon this our profession of His true faith and religion together, in the midst of all these adversities and temptations that are daily upon us to draw us from it; and for all those that have constantly professed the same heretofore, having been the choice vessels, &c.

Our Father, &c.

SERM. XVIII. 'For as yet they knew not the Scriptures that Christ must rise from the dead.'

'As yet they knew not.' And because St. Peter was one of these that knew not, here I stay. First, they that stand so much for St. Peter above all the Apostles besides, and say that he knew all things and missed in nothing, after Christ had once given him the keys, every time they read this Gospel they see themselves confuted here by St. John, who knew the defects both of St. Peter and himself, and of all his fellow disciples together, better than these men ever knew St. Peter's prerogative above the rest.

Of the rest they are not so solicitous, only St. Peter must not fail nor err in one thing; which they do not say for his sake neither, as they do for his whom they hold with as little probability to have succeeded him in his chair; for, not to meddle with him, without all doubt St. Peter here failed for once, if he doubted of Christ's resurrection, as he did, because as yet he knew not the Scriptures that belonged to it.

And yet not only *tu es Petrus*, but the *dabo tibi claves*, and the *rogavi pro te*, and all, had been all three said and past already.

But peradventure his chair was not yet set up, or it may be he had not yet taken a full possession of it; for that they say was given him in the next chapter after this, by virtue of
Joh. 21. 16. *pasce oves meas*, the words that they find there, when for reason of his three denials, he had a charge thrice laid upon him to take care of the Church.

How went it therefore after this was past? Truly how it went with him at another place, a city where they say neither he nor any that ever followed him there could yet possibly fall into error about any matter of faith; how it went there, for aught I can learn, nobody could ever yet certainly inform us. But how it went with him at a city called Cæsarea, and that a full year too after *pasce oves* was past, St. Peter himself will ingenuously tell us in the tenth
ver. 34. chapter of the Acts; that till then, for want of knowing the Scriptures too, he had fallen into another error, and thought before that time, that God had been an accepter of persons, which error there in open audience he recanteth before them all.

It was not for nothing that St. Paul said, all our knowledge is in part and all our prophesying in part; that is, that it comes not to us altogether at a time, for it did not so with him; nor here with St. John and St. Peter himself, who believed the sepulchre to be empty because they saw it to be so, the words before, but could not yet believe that Christ was risen, because as yet they knew not the Scriptures, the words here; but when they knew them once, the Scriptures, that had foretold it of old, must of necessity be fulfilled at that time, then they were of another mind. 1 Cor. 13. 9, 10. ver. 3.

It will be the like case with us in any thing besides, where in any point of truth we stand in doubt, there to have the same recourse to the Scriptures that they had, and we shall perceive things never the worse, clearer a great deal than we did before, or can ever do without them; it was their case here.

Only this are we to look to, that with St. Peter, and St. John, and the rest of the disciples after, when the Scriptures are opened to us, to shew us any truth, we would likewise open our eyes to perceive that truth; and when we find men, ourselves or others, to be in any error against them, that we would be so ingenuous as readily to acknowledge that error. All is laid here upon the truth and knowledge of the Scriptures; which we are to extend, where need is, to all other points of religion whatsoever, whereof there be many no less doubted of in the world now, than here and elsewhere the resurrection was at first. But to this particular because we are now confined, we will not now touch upon any other. And yet the Scriptures will be able to clear them all, all other points of our faith and religion, no less than this.

Which being the main and the chiefest point of all, the Apostles, after they were confirmed in it themselves, took more pains to clear and to set it forth to the world than they did any the rest; as knowing well that the whole frame of our religion, in life and death, and all, depended upon it; for without this, who need to trouble themselves about either of these, but first sit down to eat and drink, and then rise up to play; and when they can play and live no longer, to die, and there an end with them. Yet that end will be to die in Ex. 32. 6. 1 Cor. 10. 7. 1 Cor. 15. 17.

SERM. XVIII. their sins; for if Christ be not dead and risen for them, to put a new life into them before they die, needs must they perish in them and be no better than dead men while they seem to be alive. All is thereafter as the resurrection is, here and hereafter; as we shall see anon.

For this purpose we are referred here to the Scriptures; wherein we may perceive as much as they, that refer to them, saw with their own eyes; for we have the same Scriptures that they had, and their own besides. For if now we should be asked the question, what Scriptures those be? it would behove us all to be ready for an answer; and for the more readiness, the Apostles, after they once understood them, have pointed them out to us, as I believe Christ Himself, now after He was risen from the dead, did to them.

And it was well they did so. For otherwise we might have been to look at this day, as the Jews yet are, what to make of many prophetical passages in the Old Testament, which are now made manifest and clear to us in the New.

When we took our former text here, the last day, out of St. Paul, we reflected upon three of those passages already; one out of Moses, in *capite libri*, in the beginning of his volume, and we applied it to the resurrection itself. The two other, out of the Psalms and the Prophets, in *corpore libri*, and we applied them to the time of the resurrection, that Christ was to rise again the third day, and not to stay a day longer than His time. We shall not go over those places any more; but the books themselves, in some other places, that are for this purpose recorded in them, we are now to go over again.

It is said in a place that Christ began at Moses, and so must we; for Moses is the fountain and the ocean from whence all the rest of the Prophets drew their waters of life. To begin then with him.

Lu. 24. 27.

I. Besides these words that I mentioned last, to have been set in *capite libri*, for antiquity the first, and for majesty the greatest that ever were, we are referred by these two very Apostles here, that came now from Christ's grave, and afterwards preached up His resurrection in the third chapter of their Acts, to that book of Moses again, and there to that promise made to Abraham, that in his seed all the

ver. 15, 25.

nations of the earth should be blessed; to this promise, for a clear proof and prophecy of Christ's rising to immortality.

A prophecy that the Jew, or any worldly man besides with all the temporal blessings that they look for, can never tell what to make of; but the Christian can; to whom it is said, that after Christ had overcome the sharpness of death, He opened His blessed kingdom to all believers. That did He at His resurrection. But for the opening of which blessed kingdom it had gone hard with Abraham, and with all the nations of the earth besides; nor had the promise then made of blessing him and his seed for ever, been any true blessing at all.

(2.) For secondly, it was no sooner made to him, but all the seed he had, by that promise, then alive, was destined and called for away to a present death; the sacrifice of his son, his only son Isaac. Therefore, here the Apostle disputes and challenges Jew, and Gentile, and all the world, to answer him. In Isaac was it said that all the nations of the earth should be blessed; yet in Isaac himself were they never blessed, no more than they were in Abraham, or in all his posterity besides, till Christ came, Who was the seed of Abraham indeed; and being blessed for ever Himself, extended that blessing not only to Abraham, but to all the true sons of Abraham for ever, and so made good the promise. Heb. 11. 17.

This did He at His resurrection, which was the end, the fulfilling of that promise. For Abraham had it in a type, saith St. Paul, when he received his son from death in a figure. If the figure went before, the verity of that figure must of necessity follow after; for, as Tertullian says, rationally and truly, speaking of the Sacrament and of this mystery together, *figura est semper figura veritatis*[b]; there is no figure or shadow without a true substance with it, but that truth never came out of the shadow, to be manifestly true, till Christ Himself came, Who was the truth, and the life of all things. And this in His rising to life out of death itself, Heb. 11. 19.

[b] Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Tertull. adv. Marc., lib. iv. cap. 40. The index to the edition of Rigaltius (fol. Par. 1664) has the following entry, which has reference, apparently, to a similar passage: Figuræ ex rebus consistentibus fiant necesse est, quia nihil potest ad similitudinem de suo præstare, nisi sit ipsum quod tali similitudine præstet. But nothing corresponding to this sentiment is found on the page (p. 247.) to which reference is made.

SERM. XVIII. after He had been made a sacrifice upon the cross, as Isaac should have been, and was made in a type, upon the Mount[c].

When we meet with his story, peradventure some of us run through it too fast. Shall we stay a little and look upon it, to see how even the parallel lines of it are laid to those of Christ?

(1.) First, for their persons. They were both the sons, and the only sons, and the only beloved sons of their fathers; yet both determined to be put to death; alike in that.

(2.) Then in their obedience to either. They were both willing to be offered up for a sacrifice, and to die, *obedientes*
Phil. 2. 8. *facti usque ad mortem;* alike too in that.

(3.) And in the manner of it alike. They were both of
Gen. 22. 9. them bound for it.

Joh. 18. 24. (4.) The wood whereupon they were to be sacrificed was
Gen. 22. 6. Joh. 19. 17. laid upon both their shoulders[d].

Gen. 22. 2. (5.) They were either of them led away to the mount, and
Lu. 23. 33. to the same mount both; for mount Calvary and mount Moriah were but one and the same place[e].

(6.) Then what was the ram that came thither in the thorns, and was offered up to save Isaac's life, but the figure and pledge of Him That came forth with the crown of thorns, and offered up Himself to save ours[f]?

(7.) And lastly, the release of them both, which was the figure of the resurrection in Isaac's story, and is there seldom taken notice of, fell out to be either of them upon the third day. Which circumstance of time set forth for Isaac, needed not to have been mentioned there at all, unless it had referred here to Christ, that they might every way agree[g].

[c] See Willet's Hexapla in Genesin, p. 234, fol. Lond. 1608, and Pearson on the Creed, vol. ii. p. 92. edit. 1821.

[d] Isaac, cum a patre hostia duceretur, lignumque ipse sibi portaret, Christi exitum jam tunc denotabat, in victimam concessi a Patre, lignum passionis suæ bajulantis. Tertull. adv. Judæos, cap. 10; Opp., tom. iv. p. 316. ed. Gersd.

[e] Hieronymus scripsit ab antiquis et senioribus Judæis se certissime cognovisse quod ibi immolatus sit Isaac ubi postea Christus crucifixus est. S. August. Serm. 71. de Temp. See also de Civit. Dei, lib. xvi. cap. 22, Opp., vii. 336. and in Psalm. xxx.; Opp., tom. iv. 119, et viii. 524. S. Jerome in cap. 15. Marci, tom. iv. p. 919. edit. Bened. 1706.

[f] Hæc pars Dominicæ passionis præfigurata fuit in typo arietis in dumeto spinoso pendentis, quem Abraham loco filii sui Isaaci in holocaustum Deo obtulit. Gerh. Harm. Evang., cap. 194. tom. iii. p. 1909.

[g] Typi illius tridui potissimum tres sunt. Isaacus in tertium usque diem cum parente abit ad montem Moria jussu Dei sacrificandus, ubi in oculis

And so much for what was written of Him in the volume of that book; which, as St. Austin says rightly, is nothing else but a perpetual prophecy of Christ[h]. This and all the rest which pass under the name of Moses.

II. The next book we are sent to is the book of the Psalms. St. Peter sends us to two of them, and St. Paul to a third; I will mention no more.

And of St. Peter's two we have made one clear already. Acts 2. 27, 31.
It was the sixteenth Psalm, that which we call the Psalm of the Resurrection[i], where the patriarch David, that saw corruption himself and is still detained under it, prophesied of Christ That saw none, and was never corrupted in His grave at all. For there we found it to be all one, not to see corruption, and not to be above three days dead; at which time naturally we see every dead body corrupt; but so did not Christ's, Whose body was risen and alive again before that time of corruption came. ver. 10.

The other of St. Peter's psalms is of the stone which the builders cast away, and which God took up and made the head stone of the corner; never made good but by the death and the resurrection of Christ. For at the one they hacked and hewed Him like a stone, they threw Him aside and trod upon Him like a stone; but within a few days after, at the other, He was taken up again and set in the very head of the building, which made Him the head and the only head of His Church ever since. A title that some others have of late times adventured to take upon themselves, but the Scriptures reserve it only to Him; and they that are not for the right head are not for Christ. In effect, they would not have Him yet risen. There is another psalm of the passion, Ps. 22. 18.
where they parted His garments among them; but the end of that psalm is, that He will call them to an account for all, ver. 27, 28, 29.
and in His time shew that He is risen indeed, however they Ps. 118. 22. Acts 4. 11.

atris fuit velut mortuus, sed tertio die ivificatur cum aries ipsius loco immotur. Gerh. Harm. Evang., tom. iii. p. 093.

[h] Quære quid sit. Figura est Christi voluta Sacramentis. S. August. Opp., m. iv. col. 119.

[i] Græci enarratores Latinique, maxime eteres, consentiunt interpretando de Christo, in isto Psalmo prophetiam de Illo contineri admirandam, tanquam in columna incisam et perpetua scriptura dignam, potissimum de triumpho mortis ac resurrectionis Ejus. Lorin. in Psalm., tom. i. p. 195. See also Hammond on the Psalms, p. 77. edit. 1659, and Pearson on the Creed, vol. ii. p. 91. edit. 1821.

SERM. XVIII.

use Him now, as if He lay dead still in His sepulchre. These were St. Peter's psalms.

Besides these, there was a proof made by St. Paul of the resurrection of Christ out of the second Psalm, when he preached his first sermon at Antioch. He tells them there, that God had fulfilled His promise, in that He had raised up His Son from the dead; as it is written in the second Psalm, 'Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee.'

ver. 7. Acts 13. 33.

What makes that to the resurrection, which a man would think were a text rather belonging to the nativity at Christmas, than to the resurrection at Easter?

But it was an Easter-day psalm with St. Paul, and so was it here with us; it was appointed for the day [k].

And indeed there is no applying of that Psalm to any but to Christ, nor to Christ at any other time so properly as this.

For who was He That had the heathen there given Him for His inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession, but Christ? It could not be king David himself, that, for he never had any such possession given him; nor he, nor any other. But He, that being, as He was, the Son of God, became afterwards to be the Son and the Lord of king David himself; of Him, and of all the kings and powers of the earth, at this very time when He said all power in heaven and earth was given Him, and that was immediately after His resurrection, when He sent out His Apostles to take possession of it in the world. At this time was He made the King's Son, and set up over His own inheritance. The sons of men have since that time, as they make account at least, got a good part of it to themselves; but their inheritance is one thing, and His is another.

Mat. 28. 18.

So are their generations too, that we may not be troubled here at that expression, 'This day have I begotten thee.' For there are two begettings, and two several nativities; one to this life here below, in which we must die; another to the life above, in which we shall never die; and to this latter life was Christ now begotten, after His death to the first.

Ps. 2. 7.

The reason that the ancient Church called their martyrs

[k] This Psalm is appointed for Morning Service upon Easter day. Upon the fitness of its adaptation, see Lorin. in Psalm., tom. i. p. 24.

days [1] *natalitia martyrum*, that is, the days of their nativities; wherein though they lost one life, yet they were begotten and born to another far better than the former. And this for the book of Psalms.

3. The books of the prophets that follow are full to this purpose. I will but name three of them, and stay at the fourth.

Daniel; he foretells the precise time both of Christ's death, and of His return from death; of the Messias by name, and that this was His time. Dan. 9. 24, 25, 26.

Zachary says that they should see Him alive, Whom they had pierced to death; applied by St. John here to the person of Christ. Zach. 12. 10. Joh. 19. 37.

Hosea is clear, 'After two days He will return, and the third day rise up and ransom us;' which St. Paul applies to Christ's rising from the dead. Hos. 6. 2. 1 Cor. 15. 4.

But I stay upon the prophet Isaiah, the clearest of them all. There was a man of Ethiopia that was reading of him in his chariot, and the place he read was a prophecy of Christ's passion, which endeth there in His resurrection; that place alone converted him and made him a Christian. Acts 8. 27.

He was brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and for the sins of my people was He slain; and there it ends not, but afterwards, He was taken out of His prison and came forth from His sepulchre like a conqueror from the field: which was so clear a prophecy of Christ, that six hundred years [m] before He came, the prophet speaks of Him as if he had then seen Him rising before his eyes. Isa. 53. 7, 8.

For first, he asks the question, Who is this that cometh, so glorious in His gait, so beautiful in His garments? Isa. 63. 1.

And then he answers it, Behold, here comes your Saviour, with the keys of Edom and Bozra, that is, of death and hell both [n], at His girdle. ver. 8.

A text in Isaiah, which if Isaiah were not named, might be rather taken for a story penned by one of the evangelists than for a prediction made by one of the prophets; so like a story it looks of a thing then past, or present, and not like a prophecy of any

[1] See Bingham xx. 7. § 2; and J. Hildebrand de Natalitiis Martyrum, 4to. Helmst. 1661.

[m] According to Ussher's chronology, B. C. 712.

[n] See Alvarez in Isaiam, tom. ii. col. 1225, 1226, fol. Lugd. 1623.

SERM. XVIII. thing then to come so many ages after. But this manner of penning these prophecies made them the surer; and there is nothing so great a stay to our faith and religion that we have for Christ, than that those things which we profess to believe of Him we find to be so plainly foretold so many years before they came to pass.

To which therefore St. John here refers both St. Peter, and himself, and all of us together; that both they might believe the Scriptures better than their own eyes, as being the clearer evidence and the surer proof of the two; and that we, who were to come after them, having the same Scriptures that they had, might be as sure as they, and believe as they did; ever remembering that, as the Angel told him, the
Rev. 19. 10. testimony of Jesus is the sure spirit of prophecy. And so I have done with these Scriptures, the ground of our faith and the certainty of this truth, that Christ is risen.

II. The necessity of it is yet behind, which I will despatch in a word, that we may apply both to ourselves.

It is said here, that Christ must rise from the dead. He
Mat. 3. 15. Lu. 24. 46. had said so before Himself, *Quia sic oportuit impleri omnem justitiam*, that it behoved Him both to die and to rise again, or otherwise God's justice must never have been satisfied. For neither we, nor all the world besides, were able to do that; so that done it must be, or we must have been all undone, one of these two.

That 'must' troubles the Socinian,—which is a new sect that now troubles the world abroad, and says that there was no such necessity to satisfy God's justice at all, either by Christ's death or by Christ's rising [o]. They deny Christ's satisfaction, and say there was no need of it. Bylike [1] they either know how to satisfy for themselves, (as some others are taught to do, that may not wholly rely upon Christ; but they are of another division,) or else they know not the Scriptures, which yet they pretend to do above all people living. It should seem that among the rest they leaped over this, as their manner is to fly at some one, and leave

[1] Probably: see Johnson, v. Belike.

[o] From a careful examination of the Socinian writers, Scherzer collects and proves that they maintained this thesis, 'Christus morte sua justitiæ divinæ nec debuit nec potuit satisfacere, nec peccata nostra expiavit, nec Deum nobis reconciliavit.' See Colleg. Anti-Socin., p. 428. edit. Lips. 1672.

ten behind them. But all they have to say is, that God will do it some other way; *ex plenitudine potestatis,* or *ex plenitudine misericordiæ;* either by His absolute power, or by His absolute goodness, because His power and mercy are over all His works. Ps. 145. 9.

As if there had been no way at all for mercy and justice to meet and so to stand together; as if there were ever any greater power and mercy shewed, than in this way of satisfying God's justice by the death and resurrection of His Son! For as we must ever acknowledge His mercy in all things, so must we never deny Him His justice in any thing, which is every way as essential to Him as His mercy is; otherwise they rob God of one of His attributes, Who can neither quit His justice nor waive His truth, and when justice comes once to claim her own of them, if they find it not then *in manu Mediatoris,* if they chance to meet it then out of Christ's hands, they had better meet a lion in their way, to devour and tear them in pieces. Gal. 3. 19.

The truth is, there is no other way either to appease that justice of God, or to quiet any man's conscience, than this way alone, this way of necessity, that the Scriptures have here laid upon Christ. And there we rest.

There is another question here moved by these men, whether Christ raised Himself or no [p], in that it is said in another place, that God raised Him. But let not that trouble us, for He was God Himself, and there are not two Gods; there was but the same Deity, and the same power in either Person. And here we rest again in the Scriptures and in Him, that we may now come to ourselves, and ask what all these Scriptures and this resurrection of Christ will teach us. Rom. 6. 4.

Multum per omnem modum, says the Apostle, much and many ways they will do it. Rom. 3. 2.

(1.) First to confirm and strengthen our faith, that herein we were not born to inherit and believe a lie, as some other people of the world are in following their own fond and

[p] The Racovian Catechism asserts, Falluntur vehementer qui aiunt Christum seipsum a mortuis excitasse; see Scherzer, Colleg. Anti-Socin., p. 549, where a host of other authorities establishing the same assertion is collected. See S. August. Opp., tom. v. col. 863, and tom. iv. col. 264, 398 et 918, and Pearson on the Creed, vol. ii. p. 97. edit. 1821.

SERM. XVIII. groundless courses of religion, but that we rest upon certain and undoubted truths, built upon the foundation of the prophets and Apostles, grounded upon the evidence of Scripture, upon reason, upon justice, and upon many witnesses here besides. Which rule if it might be followed in all other matters of religion, as indeed it ought to be, and was here in this, we should have more unity and less contention in the world about them than there is.

(2.) Secondly, that He in Whom we believe, and the
Rom. 1. 4. Scriptures in which we trust, have hereby declared Him to be the Son of the everliving God, even by the resurrection from the dead; the Apostle's own words. For in His dying He was declared to be the son of man, without which He might never have died; but in His rising again He was set forth to be what He was, the eternal Son of the Most High God, without which He could never have made perfect our redemption.

For if our faith had gone no further than that He died only, and no more, the Jews and the very pagans themselves will confess as much of Him as that, *etiam pagani credunt mortuum esse Christum,* they will believe Him to be dead, as they believe it of their own special men, of their own whom they set up to be worshipped; *sed resurrexisse vivum,* to believe that He is alive and risen again to glory, *hæc est fides Christianorum propria,* this is the only true faith and character of a true Christian, as St. Austin[q] rightly tells them; it can be said by none but Christ, and challenges all the world to shew it of another. Since His time there are some Christians arisen that have made bold to believe it of another, we know who, but it is a peculiar faith that, by themselves, and a groundless, whereby they have degenerated not a little from the proper and universal Catholic faith of a Christian, which never yet believed it of any but of Christ, and holds it to be no good sign of a true Christian indeed to let any creature whatsoever, either among the sons or the daughters of Abraham, entercommon with Him in His glory. This for our faith in Him to confirm that.

[q] Mortuum quippe Christum et pagani credunt; resurrexisse autem Christum propria fides est Christianorum. S. August. contra Faustum, lib. xvi. cap. 29. Opp., tom. viii. col. 215.

Then for our hope in Him, to establish that. The nature of hope is to expel fear; and of this hope to expel the fear of death or the grave. For thus we plead; if Christ be risen, we shall rise; if He be risen in our nature, as sure He is, then may our nature rise sure enough; and if our nature may rise, as it did in Him, then is there no fear but our persons may rise also, as His did.

For lo! here comes your Saviour, as Isaiah said of Him, when he saw Him coming from the regions of death. And being already come from thence Himself, He will never leave those behind Him there to be lost, for whom and for whose sakes alone, He went thither; but if He suffers us to be carried to our graves, He will see us safely brought out from them again, and never part with us when all the world besides leaves us. Which is the only chief comfort we shall have against the fear of death, when we shall come, as once we must all do, to die ourselves. Is. 63. 1.

Then we plead again, if Christ be the head of His Church, as there is no other, then is St. Gregory's reason a good one, *cum caput vidimus super aquas,* when the head be kept above the waters, the body that belonged to it, though in the meanwhile men see it not, is safe enough. And St. Paul's is better; Christ is but the first-fruits of them that sleep, two reasons in one; if they do but sleep they shall do well enough, they may awake again from their sleep; and if He be but the first-fruits, the rest are a part of those fruits, in their own due season to follow. 1 Cor. 15. 20.

It is but symbolical divinity this; but it illustrates well. The rational is that, as by Adam, whose sons we are, we all die, because he is dead, so by Christ, Whose sons we are too, we shall be restored to life, because He is risen from the dead. For we are parties now, no less to the one than we are to the other. And herein is our hope laid up for us against the time to come. 1 Cor. 15. 22.

Indeed our other hopes here below do many times deceive us, but it is not[1] long of hope that, it is long of ourselves, who lay our hope upon a wrong object, and there anchor in a storm that pulls it up and carries it away, in the uncertain, transitory, and perishing things of this life. Lay it where it should be laid, in those things that belong to a better life, and it will never fail us.

[1] is not the consequence of. Heb. 6. 19.

SERM. XVIII.

There is no better advice in this case than that which St. Austin gives; *si vis esse Christianus*, if you will be counted a good Christian, live so as you may live in hope of having such a resurrection as Christ had; *et propter hoc esto quod es*, that is, and for this hope's sake, be and carry yourself like a Christian, like one that bears His name and waits for His coming. Which is a good lesson now to make an end withal; and so I have done with this text.

Whereof the Sacrament, that we are now going to, is a lively symbol; for here we shall find Christ's death and resurrection presented to us again. To enjoy the true fruit and benefit whereof, we are thither to bring our own death and resurrection with us, a death to our deadly sins, we know every one what our own be, and a resurrection to our new life, we are none of us ignorant what that should be. St. John calls it the first resurrection, which will open us a door of hope for the second, that that may be for the better and not for the worse; for be it will howsoever; but when it is, God send it for the best. To Whom be all honour and glory, now and for evermore. Amen.

Rev. 20. 5, 6.

SERMON XIX.

PARIS, MAY 21, 1651. [NEW STYLE.]

DOMINICA POST ASCENSIONEM.

Acts i. 9, 10, 11.

Et hæc locutus, videntibus iisdem, in altum sublatus est, &c.
Et ecce! duo viri astiterunt illis in vestibus albis.

And when He had spoken these things, while they beheld, He was taken up; and a cloud received Him out of their sight.
And while they looked steadfastly toward heaven as He went up, behold two men stood by them in white apparel.
Which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking up into heaven? This same Jesus, Who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven.

This is the first Sunday, and this was the first sermon after Christ's ascension; which being so great a feast in the Christians' calendar, and so high, so necessary an article in their creed, we were not willing to pass it by, but have taken this day, the nearest to it that is, and this text, the clearest for it that is, to set it forth.

It consists of three verses; and in these three verses there be three parties, that will divide the text into three parts.

Christ is the first; and the two other are, secondly, His Apostles, and thirdly, His Angels; both whom He took here to be His witnesses that He was taken up into heaven.

We will see what was said, and what was done about it by them all.

SERM. XIX.

1. Here was somewhat, first, that Christ had said, *et cum hæc locutus*, the last words He spake here upon the earth before He ascended into heaven; and then here is the ascension itself; the verity of it, that so it was; and the majesty of it, that never was the like. These three for Him.

2. Next, here is, *videntibus Apostolis*, that they stood by and looked on till they could look no longer, I should say till they could see no longer; for when they saw Him not, when a cloud had received Him, and hid Him out of their sight, yet they looked after Him still.

3. Then follows the Angels' part; their appearing, and their speech. Their appearing, in the second verse, 'Behold two men stood by them in white apparel.' Their speech, or their sermon, in the last, 'Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking up into heaven,' &c.

Of which sermon there be three heads. First, *viri Galilæi*, that they call the Apostles by that name and no other, 'men of Galilee.' Second, *quid statis aspicientes?* that they recall them for the present from looking after Christ with their corporal eyes any longer; 'Why stand ye looking up into heaven?' and thirdly, *Hic, Qui assumptus est, sic veniet;* that they instruct them what to look for hereafter; gone though He be, yet the time will come that the world shall hear of Him again.

And of these that we may, &c.

Pater Noster, &c.

I. *Et cum hæc locutus.* 'When He had spoken these things.' And 'these things' refer to the last words that Christ spake to them upon the earth, the more to be taken notice of for that. He tells His Apostles here, in the verse before, that the power of the Holy Ghost should come upon them, as it did at Pentecost, the next feast to come. And that they should be His witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth. And so they were, all in that order that He here had set it. There was not a word of these His last words lost.

Acts 8. 5. For first, they went to Jerusalem; next, as we see in this book, to Samaria, then to other parts of the world. But first,

they went to Jerusalem, and bare witness of Him there. There they settled the mother Church; *omnium Ecclesiarum matrem,* as one of the first general councils called it[a], and as Christ here had specially commanded it more than once. I wonder where some other men since, fifteen hundred years after this, got any power to reverse that command, and to damn[b] all the world, for so they do, who will not now make it a new article of their faith that they are the mother Church, and the mistress of all other Churches upon the earth; and this, whether Christ or His Apostles will, or no; for they began at Jerusalem, made that the mother Church.

And the faith that they here preached they carried next to Samaria, and from thence to the ends of the world; from whence we have it now, the same faith and religion that Christ, by His last words, here sent them to preach; we are bound to no other. And that was as St. Luke sets it down here before, and St. Matthew before him, the last words that Christ spake there too, teaching all people to observe and to do whatsoever He had commanded them. They that would teach us any other matter of religion than the Apostles did, must first shew us a better evidence for it than the Apostles here had.

Acts 8. 5. Rom. 10. 18. Acts 1. 4, 5, &c. Mat. 28. 19, 20.

All the evidence they bring is from the third verse here above; where because it is said that Christ after His resurrection had been forty days together with His disciples, speaking to them of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God,—which they say were never after written in the New Testament,—they must needs have them to be the very same things that they themselves have written or taught by tradition, which we say they never yet made good, nor never will[c].

Acts 1. 3.

[a] Porro Ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ, quæ est aliarum omnium mater, reverendissimum et sanctissimum Cyrillum episcopum vobis ostendimus, tum ab episcopis provinciæ, uti canon vult, ampridem creatum esse, tum plurima procelia adversus Arianos variis in locis confecisse. Epistola episcoporum concilii Constantinop. ii. ad Damasum papam, in Binii Conc., tom. i. p. 687. edit. Par. 1636. See also Ant. de Dominis de Repub. Eccl., lib. iv. cap. 3. § 8. edit. Lond. 1617, and Walch, Hist. Eccl. N. T. p. 355. edit. Jenæ, 1744, where additional proofs are cited.

[b] One of the additional Tridentine articles added by pope Pius to the Creed, makes adherence to the see of Rome an article 'de fide.'

[c] See Bellarm. de Verbo Dei non scripto, lib. iv. cap. 5. § *Constat igitur;* Tanner Theolog. Scholast., tom. iii. disp. 1. q. 5. dub. 3. 12. 97.

SERM. XIX. ver. 8.14. For, first, Christ Himself is against it, Who had told them before expressly, in the seventeenth chapter of St. John, that all the things He had heard of God, His Father, He had made known to them already; so that such things as be said here to pertain to the kingdom of God, they did but pertain to those things whereof He had spoken before; they were no new and different things from the former; for then the former had not been all.

1 Joh. 1. 3. And the Apostles are against it. 'What we have heard and seen, that do we declare and write unto you,' speak for matter of faith and religion, necessary to be imposed upon all men. And what they declared and wrote not to others, a sure rule it is, that they neither saw it, nor heard it from Christ; neither they from Christ, nor others from them, who, as St. Paul speaks in this book, had not failed in any thing to set forth the whole counsel of God concerning those things that pertained to His kingdom.

Acts 20. 27.

And therefore St. Austin had great reason to declare himself, as he does, against those men that took their advantage and made as ill use of these words in his time, as some men do now in ours, calling all others heretics who will not make the same use of them that they do themselves. And these men he altogether condemns in his ninety-sixth Tract[d] upon St. John. It is remarkable, and concerns a matter of fact. *Omnium vero insipientissimi hæretici,* of all other he calls them the worst, *qui se Christianos vocari volunt,* that call themselves Christians, *et tamen figmenta sua hac occasione Evangelicæ sententiæ colorare conantur,* and yet take their occasion from these words to vent and colour over their own fictions. *Quid enim aliud sunt nisi figmenta, cum Scriptura Christi ea tacuerit?* for what are they else but the fancies of men, when we read them not in the Scriptures of Christ? *Aut quis nostrum dicat hæc vel illa sunt, aut si dicere audeat, unde probet?* Who can say that Christ ever spake those things which these men speak, or if they be so bold as to say it themselves, how will they prove it? and concludes

97. in edit. Benedict.

[d] Omnes autem insipientissimi hæretici, qui se Christianos vocari volunt, audacias figmentorum suorum, quas maxime exponet sensus humanus, occasione Evangelicæ sententiæ colorare conantur, ubi Dominus ait, *Adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere, sed non potestis portare modo,* .... S. August. Opp., tom. iii. p. 2. p. 537.

them to be no other than rash and vain persons, *qui sine testimonio divino, quando dixerint quæ ipsi voluerint, dicunt ea esse quæ Christus dicere volebat;* who first say what they will themselves, and then without any testimony of divine Scripture to shew for it, say that they had it from Christ, or that He ever said any such things before them.

This is St. Austin's discourse against them that took advantage of these words in St. Luke. It is but a matter of fact that I cite them for, to let you see from whence some other men of late, that take advantage of the same words against us too, had their first pattern; for from Christ's words here they have it not; neither His first words, nor His last.

And so much for *hæc locutus.*

II. *Et cum hæc locutus, sublatus est in altum.* After the last words that He spake before He ascended, follows the ascension itself.

'And when He had spoken these things, while they beheld, He was taken up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight.'

For the truth whereof, as we have many prophecies in the Old Testament, prophecies and types[e] both,—which the Church set forth in her[f] service upon Ascension day, three days since we had them, I will not trouble you with them now,—so have we the performance of them all here in the New.

The prophets, they saw it in vision and told of it before it came. The Apostles, they saw it with their eyes, *testes oculati,* and bare witness to it when it was past. So comes it down to us. And in the mouth of these two witnesses is every truth that we believe established among us. I say, these two, the New Testament and the Old; for Christ neither did nor taught any thing in the one, but what was foretaught and told of Him in the other; nor can there be a surer hold or a greater stay to our faith, than these two thus joined together as they are; than that those things which we believe of Christ by the testimony of His Apostles, should be so plainly set forth by the testimony of His prophets so many

Deut. 17. 6. 2 Cor. 13. 1.

[e] See these well summed up by Gerhard. Harm. Evang., tom. iii. p. 1273.

[f] In the proper Psalms and First Lessons appointed for that day.

SERM. XIX.

ages before they came to pass. For this can be nothing else but the power of God; Who challengeth all the world to shew the like two such witnesses as these two be.

I should not so much urge the truth of this story, and the grounds whereupon we believe it,—for it is a disparagement to our Christian faith to think that any Christian does not believe it,—but that we are fallen now into such times, wherein if we hold not the faster to these two grounds of belief, we shall be in danger to lose all and believe nothing; the impostures of the world having been so many, among them that have been taught to believe them upon any other ground, that the truths themselves, such as this is, which they did believe before, can scarce find now any firm credit with them at all. And all for want of this foundation of the prophets and Apostles, than which there is no firm ground at all to believe any thing.

That foundation laid, we may come the better to look upon all the passages that are here and elsewhere set forth in this story, this truth, this miracle of Christ's ascension. I will pass over them briefly.

1. And first, it was no withdrawing of Himself out of the way, no vanishing out of their sight to some other place here below, as He had sometimes done before; but a local, visible, and real elevation of His body into heaven.

Mark 3. 7. Lu. 4. 30.

Sublatus est in altum. So much we have in the first verse of the text; that He was taken up on high, the pitch of His motion. And because *in altum* might be somewhat a doubtful term,—if it had been but as the sons of the prophets thought Elias had been taken up into some higher top among the mountains, it had been *in altum*, that,—therefore how high was it? So high, as it is added here, till a cloud came and took Him out of their sight. And what became of Him then? That the Angels supply, for though the Apostles could see no farther, yet the Angels did. And they say that He was taken up into heaven; twice here repeated, that there might be no doubt made of it. But after all these, St. Paul takes the true altitude for us, when he says that He ascended far above all the heavens, that is, to the highest of them all, there sitting at the right hand of God. And now He is at His full height.

2 Kings 2. 16.

ver. 11.

Eph. 4. 10.

That place in St. Paul is in his fourth chapter to the Ephesians. And we mentioned it the rather, because it keeps a just correspondence between Christ's ascending and His descending; His going up here to heaven, and His coming down hither to the earth; His highest and His lowest. That lowest was *ad ima terræ*, to the lowest parts of the earth, to the lowest place, the lowest condition there of any others, none beneath Him. This highest was *ad summa cæli*, to the highest top of heaven, to the highest throne, the highest state there of any others, none above Him. And this latter made amends for the former; His humility was the merit of His glory, and His glory was the reward of His humility. ver. 9.

For this cause He ascended out of the grave, at Easter, from the gates of death, wherein He was shut; from the jaws of death, whereunto He was taken; from the lowermost and innermost rooms of death; from the den and belly of the whale, into which He was swallowed; out of all these He ascended then, when He rose from the dead. But all these brought Him no higher than to the ascension of Jonas from the bottom of the dungeon to the uppermost face of the earth. Now He comes to the ascension of Elias; from earth to heaven, from the lowest parts of the earth to the highest place in heaven, from His *De profundis* then, to His *In excelsis* now, from being laid under a stone, to sit at the right hand of God; and higher we cannot go.

This as it was much for His own ascent into His glory, to ascend thither as the Son of Man,—for as the Son of God in that nature, He ascended not, That was always in glory before,—so makes it much for our hopes of ascending thither after Him. For His being above before, before He was below, that makes nothing to us, rather makes all against us; but His being below first, descending to the lowest condition of men, and then in that condition going up, ascending to the highest state of heaven, and carrying our nature thither with Him,—this is that we hold by, and by nothing else. For if the Son of Man be gone up, we have all hope that the sons of men may get up thither after Him.

And so they may, saith the Apostle, if they take the same way to come thither, that He did; Who in this, as in all Phil. 3. 11.

SERM. XIX.

things else, is our pattern. Our books tell us that the Scripture will bear two senses, the literal and the moral[g]; make use of it here. That to get high is first to become low; to learn that Christian virtue of Him, which is not to be learnt, which is not to be seen, in all the philosopher's ethics, the virtue of humility, a virtue that the world looks not after, puts it out of all place; but in heaven it sits at the highest.

Ascendit Lucifer et factus est diabolus, there was one in that kingdom that would needs be getting up into the king's throne; and God threw him down to the bottom of hell, made him a devil, and all his like high-minded rebels with him.

Descendit Christus, et factus est Caput Angelorum. He that sat in a throne there Himself, was content to leave it; content to do a great deal more, to take upon Him the form of a servant, the form of a malefactor, the form of humility; and in that form is brought to the throne again; in that form exalted far above all principalities and powers. *Quem reprobarunt, factus est Caput anguli.* Which is St. Chrysostom's meditation upon Christ's ascension.

Acts 4. 11, &c.

And now it is a good sight to behold Christ thus ascending to the heavens; a better sight to see Him as an eagle in the clouds than as a worm in the dust, for so they used Him. But thus God exalted Him. And so much for *sublatus est in altum.*

2. Secondly, *videntibus Apostolis,* that the Apostles looked on and saw it, that they might testify the truth of it and make an article of the Creed of it, as they did that went before.

3. And thirdly, that a cloud came and took Him out of their sight. That sets us but forward to look after somewhat else, unless we will make this use of the cloud before we part with it; that it parts Christ's bodily presence clean from us; that, as St. Paul said, if Christ was once known after the flesh, yet now from henceforth we shall know Him so no more. The cloud has removed Him from us. And if either St. Paul says true here, or St. Luke true here, the truth is,

2 Cor. 5. 16.

[g] Bellarm. de Verbi Dei interpret. lib. iii. cap. 3. § *Ut igitur.* But see the criticisms of Gerhard upon this passage in his Loci Comm. Theologici, tom. i. p. 67. ed. Cottæ, 1762.

they are but in a cloud still that fancy His fleshly presence to be still among them; it is but a cloud in their own heads, that, for Christ is where He should be; this cloud has taken His bodily and fleshly manner of being here, from among us all. It is His spiritual presence that we must hold to now, and that is as real a presence as any His body or His flesh ever was, or ever can be.

And there is an advantage got by it besides. For by His corporal presence He could have been resident but in one place at a time, never was otherwise; as if He had been with St. James at Jerusalem, He had not been at the same time with St. John at Ephesus, or with St. Peter at Babylon, or with St. Thomas at the Indies—but by His spiritual presence, which was to succeed the corporal, wheresoever they were, He could be, and was, present with them all, and all at a time, with all and every one by Himself. For by His Spirit He can be every where, truly and really every where, where it pleaseth Him; and so with us.

The corporal therefore was removed that the spiritual might take place, the visible taken away that the invisible might follow; and neither they, nor we, in sight and sense as before, but in spirit and truth henceforth to cleave unto Him. For which purpose we have still a pentecost to come after an ascension, and to put us all in mind of it.

This will make us say, when we can see Him no longer for the cloud, as we said here the other day in the Psalm of ascension, 'Good Lord, set up Thyself above the heavens, and Thy glory above all the earth [h].' Let Him be where He is, we shall lose nothing by it.

III. And now we come from the Apostles to the Angels, to see what they do here; what they do, and what they say.

When the Apostle tells us that Christ was received up into glory, he tells us there in the same period that He was seen of Angels. 1 Tim. 3. 16.

Here they are said to be two men in white apparel. Let not that trouble us; St. Paul took them to be Angels, and from Him all Christians have taken them to be so ever since; there was never any of them understood this place to be

[h] Ps. 57. 6. One of the proper Psalms for Mattins on Easter day.

SERM. XIX.

meant of any other. So here we have men and Angels brought together, to wait upon Christ's ascension.

When God first brought His Son into the world, the same Apostle says, it was then said, Let the Angels of God come down and worship Him; and so they did. And when God here carries His Son out of the world, they come down to worship Him again; for as He is the Son of man, He is Lord both of men and Angels.

Heb. 1. 6.

But Christ is gone up and the Angels stay still below, they have somewhat to teach the disciples before they go up after Him, and by them to learn us before they leave them.

1. First, they stood by them; and it was no little honour to the Apostles, this, and to the religion which they preached to us, that they had these blessed spirits, the Angels, to assist them, as they had many and divers times after besides. When that religion was once preached to the world, the Angels appeared no more, their work and their errand was done; and now we are to hold us to those records that we have of them. They who at any time have set up another religion in the world than the Apostles did, let them shew that ever they got a true Angel to them.

2. They stood by them in white apparel; which was a symbol not only of their own purity, and integrity of their nature, but of their joy and triumph likewise, that was made both by them and by all their fellow-Angels in heaven for the coming up of Christ, the Son of God and man, thither.

3. They are here said to be but two. It must be meant of those two that stayed behind with the Apostles, that. For otherwise the Scripture is clear, that Christ had twenty thousand of them; that is, Angels without number, to attend upon Him. The chariots of God are twenty thousand, and thousands of Angels in them all, when He ascended up on high. That Scripture in the Psalm prophesied of this in St. Luke.

Ps. 68. 17.

4. They are said to appear here in the form of men. I wish that this might not trouble you. A good Angel never yet appeared in any other form; and in some external form or other they must appear to the Apostles, or else the Apostles, that were men themselves, could never have seen them. Men see no spirits, as they are spirits; there is no

proportion between them, they converse not in that manner with them.

But yet if they be Angels, why are they not called Angels? why are they said to be men? Here St. Austin's[1] rule will serve for this, and for many a case besides. He gives it in the Sacraments, *In divinis Scripturis sacramenta earum rerum nomina sortiuntur, quarum sunt similitudines.* The Sacraments in the Holy Scriptures have the names of those things given them, of which things they are but similitudes;—he adds, and so do we,—but such similitudes as carry their truth always with them. And thus was it here. These men were but the similitudes of men, but those similitudes had the true persons of Angels with them.

V. Then fifthly, now we see what they are, let us hear what they say.

'Who also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking into heaven?'

1. First, they call them *Viri Galilæi*, and this to put them in mind both from whence they came, and whither they were to go. Mat. 26. 32.

To Galilee not long since had Christ gone before them. There, after His resurrection He gave them His precepts, those precepts above all other things not to be forgotten. Mat. 28. 7. Joh. 21. 1.

From thence came Peter and Andrew, James and John, and all; they were all Galileans, and had seen Christ's first glory there. Here they saw His last. Joh. 1. 44. Mat. 4. 21, &c.

It was called Galilee of the Gentiles, for it was set in the confines of them, though it was itself in Judea[k]. And now Christ was gone up, they were to go down and preach Christ to them both; to Jews, and Gentiles, and all. Mat. 4. 15.

Where it is not amiss to take notice of the word, that Galilee signifies 'a revolution.' And these Galileans had not their name for nothing, they made that word good; they made such a revolution in the world as was never made before. For at their preaching of Christ, they made darkness light, and turned the world round. About came the See Cruden.

[1] Si enim sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Opp., tom. ii. col. 202.

[k] See Spanhem. Opp., tom. i. p. 39; Wells's Geography, vol. ii. p. 174. edit. 1819.

SERM. XIX. councillor, the scribe, the philosopher, the orator, the centurion, the senator, and the emperor and all; so that from
Joh. 1. 46. these Galileans, the persons and the place from whence some others said no good thing could come, there was once brought one of the best things that ever the world had. And so would the world find it, both for peace and justice, for a virtuous life, and for an uncorrupt religion, every way, if men would not revolve and turn themselves back again from that point whereunto these Galileans first converted them; or if they would but yet *redire ad principia*, return to Christ's own rules, for that is to be a right Galilean.

Peradventure Julian and his followers will deride both the Galileans and all besides that refer to them; but their comfort is, that Christ their master, and His Angels here, will acknowledge them. They went for the heretics of
See p. 141. Julian's time; *vicisti, Galilæe,* was his last word, and his utmost scorn; but it cost him dear, that; he had as good have let the Galilean and His true followers alone. This for *viri Galilæi.*

2. Then secondly, *Quid statis aspicientes?* The Angels ask the Apostles here, why they stood looking still into heaven? Which being nothing else but a fair reducing of them from that sight, the end whereof they would otherwise gladly have seen, I will the more readily pass it over; the rather because I do not take it, as I see some men are somewhat too apt to do[1], to be any great reprehension of them; for who can much blame them if they be loath to let their eyes go from Him, if they desire to see an end of that sight, the like whereof was never seen before nor since?

Yet since the clouds would let them see Him no longer, it was time to take them off from having recourse to this corporal presence any more, and to bid them look now after His Spirit, which is to send them away about the errand that He had given them before.

This is sure, that Christ is gone and taken up into heaven, both from their sight and ours, from whence He will not
Acts 3. 21. return in any bodily manner again, till, as St. Peter says, hereafter, the time of restitution comes; till He comes at last to take an account of the world, both how His Spirit has

[1] See Poli Synops.

been used by them, and how they have entertained that errand which His Apostles here brought to them. And then both they, and we, and all the world, shall see Him; see Him coming down in the clouds again, as here He went up; which if we had time to go through them, the Angels' last words, and the last part of all, 'This same Jesus, Whom you have seen taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as you have seen Him go into heaven.'

But all this concerns another article of religion, which, to set it forth right as it should be, will require another sermon. This was designed and intended only for the ascension.

Let the end of all be, that as Christ is gone up to heaven before us, so we may prepare to go up thither after Him; for His going up thither was not altogether for Himself; thither Heb. 6. 20. is He gone as our forerunner, saith the Apostle; to lay open Mal. 3. 1. the way before us, saith the prophet; to prepare a place for Joh. 14. 2. us, saith He Himself. It is but in heart and mind that we can get thither yet; *sed qui posuit ascensiones in corde,* he that can set his heart upon His ascension here, shall not fail to be with Him in person hereafter. To which blessed estate, the end of our desires here and of our fruition there, He vouchsafe to bring us all; to Him, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one eternal Deity, be all honour and glory now and for evermore. Amen.

SERMON XX.

PARIS, IN FESTO NATIVITATIS CHRISTI, 1651, [NEW STYLE.]

CORAM REGE CAROLO.

ST. JOHN i. 9, 10. EVANGELIUM DIEI.

Erat Ille lux illa, et vera illa lux, &c.

He was that light, or, *That light was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and He was in the world.*

SERM. XX.

THE Gospel of St. John contains all divinity; this chapter, all the Gospel; and this text, all the chapter.

It is of a light that shined in darkness; that darkness was the world, and that light was Christ, Whose coming into the world we are now come to remember, at all times to be remembered, but at this time above others, when this feast is held, the feast of Christ's nativity, which St. Chrysostom calls *omnium festorum metropolin*[a], the metropolitan feast of the Christians, whereon they met together in a solemnity[b] every year to celebrate the contents of this Gospel of St. John, which was read to-day in the Church[c].

Ezek. 1. 10.

Of the vision in one of the prophets, that was presented to him in four several shapes, it hath been usually received amongst Christians[d] to apply the eagle to St. John.

And the nature of the eagle hath two special properties,

[a] Καὶ γὰρ ἑορτὴ μέλλει προσελαύνειν ἡ πασῶν ἑορτῶν σεμνοτάτη καὶ φρικωδεστάτη, ἣν οὐκ ἄν τις ἁμάρτοι, μητρόπολιν πασῶν τῶν ἑορτῶν προσειπών. S. Chrysost. Hom. 31. de Philogonis, tom. i. p. 353. ed. Francof. cited by Bingham, xx. 4. § 5.

[b] See Bingham, xx. 4. § 5.

[c] As the Gospel for Christmas day.

[d] See S. Jerome adv. Jovian., lib. i. tom. iii. Opp., p. 16, and the authorities cited by Pritius in his Introductio in lect. N. T., p. 218. ed. 1737.

both described and set forth to us in the book of Job. Whereof the first is *ipsum lucis fontem aspicere,* to tower the highest of any fowl under heaven, and to look upon the light of the sun itself. The other is *advolare ad corpora,* to fly down suddenly upon the earth, and to be where the body is. Which two, if they be applied to Christ, are lively expressed by St. John; and nowhere more lively than in the Gospel of this day.

Job 39. 27.

Job 9. 26.

For as an eagle in the clouds; first, he mounteth high and casts his eyes upon the brightness of that light by which all the lights and all the things of heaven and earth were first made, the light that was with God from all eternity, that is, was God Himself. Higher he could not go.

And after this, down he flies from this height above to the body that he saw here below, from *Verbum Deus* to *Verbum caro,* which is the mystery of Christ's incarnation; and both these, the mystery of this day and the light of this text.

Wherein, because it is too long to go through it all at one time, therefore at this time we shall insist only upon such branches as will arise out of these two considerations; a personal light and a real light. (1.) First, who this light is, and then (2.) what it is; where we must look both upon the light of faith and grace, which is here also intended, and upon the light of nature and reason, which is a lesser beam that flows from it; besides some other lights that we may reflect on in the world, which will admit of an application to the true light of this text. And this light was as this day presented to the world, this day of Christ's blessed nativity.

Whereof that we may speak to the honour of God, and the preserving of Christ's true light and religion among us, we beseech Him for the assistance of His blessed Spirit.

Remembering our duty, and putting you all in mind to pray, both now and always, for the good estate of, &c. Therein for the king's most excellent majesty, in whose presence now we are, our sovereign master.

Rendering likewise praise for all God's mercies and favours to His Church; chiefly, as we now come to acknowledge it, for the blessed incarnation of our Saviour, and for the light of grace and truth that this day shined

SERM. XX.

upon the darkness of error and ignorance; as also for all them that have been children of this light and have cast away the works of darkness from them, and put on the armour of light, the choice vessels of His grace, and the shining lights of the world, in their several generations before us. Most humbly beseeching Him, &c. Concluding, as we shall do now, with

Pater Noster, &c.

Erat Ille lux illa. That light was the true light.

It was an injury common to all the four Evangelists, that all their Gospels were severally refused by one sect of heretics or other, and this we have from Irenæus[e], who lived in their time, and wrote against them, not long after the time of the Apostles.

But it was a peculiar injury, and proper to St. John alone, to be refused by a sect that admitted all the other three Evangelists, and rejected his Gospel only; and this we have from Epiphanius[f], who wrote of them in his time, and called them, as the Christians then did, *οἱ φιλοσκιοὶ*, or *lucifugi*, that is, men that loved their own darkness, and hated this light so much, which St. John here sets forth, as that they could neither abide to see it nor to hear of it. They would none of his Gospel, because there was a light in it that discovered their darkness, the darkness of their deeds, and the darkness of their wits besides.

For they were a limb and a branch of the black rowled Arian; who being unable to look upon the glorious splendour of this light attributed by St. John to Christ, and not comprehending the great mystery of this day, that He Who was *Verbum caro*, and came into the world, was *Verbum Deus* too, before all worlds; they took a round and a short way to condemn all that they did not by the light of their own wits and reason understand, and therefore they refused the whole Gospel[g].

[e] S. Irenæus, lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 192. edit. Massuet.

[f] S. Epiph. adv. Hæres. li. § 3. (adv. Hæres. Alogorum,) tom. i. p. 441. edit. Par. 1622. Irenæus, lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 192, informs us that heretics who admitted the other Gospels, refused to accept that of St. John. See also Philastr. de Hæres., cap. 60.

[g] See Pritius, Introd. ad lectionem N. T., p. 200.

Indeed his whole Gospel is comprehended in this very beginning of it; and in a few verses here at first, whereof this text is one, he hath contracted all that which is extensively spread and dilated through the whole book.

For here is, first, the foundation of all in the divinity of Christ, that light; and secondly, here is the execution of all in the incarnation of Christ, another light; and thirdly, here is the effect of all in the application of Christ, which is a light of grace and truth revealed to all the world; points of belief all, and proper to this day, but no less behoveful for us than points of practice be. For I believe the reason that most men live no better is, because they believe no better. They think too meanly of Christ, they apprehend not truly what He is, they are offended in Him. For if they did indeed believe either the majesty of His person, or the greatness of His power, or the mystery of His incarnation, or the truth of His word, they would not, they durst not, take that liberty that they do to follow their own ways so much, and to regard His so little, as most an end they are; for this is both their rule and ours; theirs, the less faith men have of Christ the less reverence they will be bound to have for Him; and ours, the surer belief, the better life.

Begin then with His divinity, which is His first, *Erat Ille lux illa*, His eternal light, in *Verbum erat in principio*; for that *Verbum*, that Verb, that Word, was Christ, and whoever likes not that word there used for Him thinks himself wiser than St. John and Him both, and must of necessity get him either a new grammar or a new Scripture. But St. John must not be taught how to speak. Christ was that Word and that Word was this Light, and this Light was from the beginning here, and that beginning was before the beginning of Genesis; for that was but the beginning of the world, and this was before all worlds, this Light before all other lights whatsoever; for all other lights were made by It, and *fiat lux* was the first word that this Word spake when He made all the world besides. Joh. 1. 1.

And though the first book of the Bible, that Genesis, and the last book of it, this Gospel, (for this was the last book[h] that was written of all the Bible,) though they begin both

[h] See Epiphan. Hæres. li. § 12. and p. 151. Lampe Comment. in S. Joan., tom. i.

SERM. XX.

with the same words, 'In the beginning,' both this and that, yet if Moses's beginning begins only with the creation, which was not yet six thousand years since, and St. John's beginning begins with Christ's eternity, which no millions of years can calculate, then was that first beginning of Genesis far and long after the last beginning of this Gospel, and St. John mounted higher than ever Moses did, to look upon a brighter light than he. And this was *lux Verbi*, that this light was the Word and the Son of God, Who was with God from all eternity, and that this Son of God was God Himself, blessed for ever. A point of faith founded upon this place of Scripture, which did so vex and anguish the Arian of old, as it does the newer Arian, the Socinian, at this day, that receiving this Scripture, which they dare not yet deny, and being disfurnished of all other escapes, they are fain to turn light into darkness and to corrupt the place with a false interpunction[1] between *Verbum erat* and *Deus;* and thereby make no sense of the words which they are not willing to understand.

Rom. 9. 5. 2 Cor. 11. 31.

But the brightness of this light dazzled them, and His incarnation, which is here the second light, put out their eyes. For through that cloud, the cloud of His flesh, as they called it, they could see no light at all, more than, as they said, every man has besides, as well as He; and so they made the mystery of godliness to be the detriment of the Godhead.

Notwithstanding there is such a perspicuity in this cloud of His incarnation, that by the very light of reason, if we had nothing but that to help us, we might see somewhat else through it; and by the light of grace, and faith in God's word, which may make use of our reason too, much more.

It is a clear and a bright cloud this, like that wherein He was wrapped and encompassed when He was transfigured in His glory. We may see all these lights through it.

Mat. 17. 5.

(1.) First, because *caro* would have been *verbum*, when he that was but flesh and blood would needs have been wiser than the Word of God Itself, and know what was good or ill

[1] See Scherzer Colleg. Anti-Socin., p. 390. ed. Lips. 1672, and the observations upon this passage contained in the Curæ Philologicæ of Wolfius.

for him better than He, which was our utter undoing; therefore that *Verbum* should become *caro* was the only way to restore us, and set all right again with Him That had been so justly offended against us. For otherwise *non potuit impleri justitia,* God's justice might never have been satisfied; His mercy peradventure might, but His justice never; and His justice was as tender and dear an attribute to Him as His mercy is. So that this light is here clear enough in Christ's coming to the world to save us from perpetual ruin and darkness. *Si caro verbum,* if our taking upon us the person and power of God were our only bane, then *Verbum caro,* His taking upon Him the nature and condition of man, wherein to reconcile and satisfy that person, was to be our only remedy; for none can satisfy the infinite offended justice of God, but one that was infinite in worth and justice Himself, which none of us ever were, or ever will be, take us altogether, all the world over, and in all ages of the world besides. *Sed erat Ille lux illa,* He only was the light that could come shining out upon this darkness and give it this lustre.

(2.) Then, secondly, *Verbum lucerna,* which is another light that He brought with Him, to manifest Himself to be the only person of Whom so many excellent things were spoken, all along this book; and that it was He in Whom all the words of all the former promises and prophecies in this book were fulfilled. So was He the light *objectivè.* Ps. 119. 105.

Again, for that He came to disclose to us all the whole counsel of God, as the light discovereth any hidden thing whatsoever, and the Apostle tells us of the hidden things of God, and of the mystery that had been kept secret in all ages before; this mystery did this light discover, and left out none of it to be discovered in after ages neither *in scrinio pectoris* of no mortal man whosoever; for by Him, by Christ only, we know whatsoever we are to know, or shall ever know, of God's mind to us in any age. So was He the light *effectivè.* Eph. 3. 3, 5.

And lastly, for that He came to us not only as a Saviour to redeem us, but as a light to direct us, and to shew us where our way lies, that we might come to Him and be made capable of His redemption. That way lies in His word,

SERM. XX. and it is nowhere else to be found. *Lucerna pedibus meis Verbum Tuum.* And so was He the light *præceptivè.*

Ps. 119. 105. Now among all these lights, I miss the light of nature, and some other lights besides, which be either dim and weak lights, till this *illa lux,* this clear and divine light, comes to help them; or else they be deceitful and false lights, till this *vera lux,* this supernatural and true light, comes to discover them.

There is in the verse before somewhat said to this purpose

ver. 8. of the dim and weaker lights; *non erat ille illa lux,* 'He was not that light.' It was said of a saint, and the greatest saint that was then upon the earth; for there was not a

Mat. 11. 11. greater than John the Baptist.

It is true that Christ Himself called him a light, and a

Joh. 5. 35. light with large additions, a burning and a shining light; but yet with this restriction made by himself, that his light

Joh. 3. 30. should diminish and waste as it burnt, so should not Christ's; they are the saint's own words. Nor did ever any man else say of him as they that think they cannot say too much of some other saints, when they pray to them and call them *fontes lucis,* the very fountain and source of light; which by our book here can be given to none but God.

It is true likewise that all the Apostles are said to be

Mat. 5. 14. lights, *Vos estis lux mundi,* but yet with the like limitation, that they were but set up to convey the light of this text to the world.

Eph. 5. 8. It is as true that all faithful Christians are said to be light,

1 Joh. 1. 7. and to walk in the light; but all this is but to signify that they had been in darkness before. Light they were, but light by reflection and illustration of this essential and supernatural light; which Christ only is. For He was the fountain of all their light, *fons lucis* He, and light so as nobody else was so, with His distinctive article and His peculiar addition, both *illa* and *vera.*

For *non sic dicitur lux sicut lapis,* as St. Austin said when he was once preaching upon this text: Christ is not so

1 Cor. 10. 4. called Light here, as elsewhere He is called a Rock, or a

Joh. 10. 7, 9. Door, or a Vine; as His flesh is called Meat, and His blood

Joh. 15. 1. Joh. 6. 55. said to be Drink; for the one He is truly and properly called, and these other are but a metaphor. *Non enim hunc carnem*

quem videtis, manducaturi estis, sed spiritualiter intelligite; 'ye shall not eat this flesh which ye see, but after a spiritual manner, in that sense real.' And so are you to understand it, which in St. Austin's days was the true Catholic doctrine of the Church, and so it is still; for the other new doctrine of a gross and corporal manner is not Catholic[k].

But light, wheresoever, to my remembrance, it is found in any place of Scripture, and transferred from the natural to a figurative sense, it takes a higher signification than that. Either it signifies the essential Light, which is Christ; or it signifies the supernatural light of faith and grace, which is the working of Christ upon them and their lives that believe in Him; and it is the principal scope of the Evangelist in this place. Other lights there be, whereof we may make our use, but they are still to be taken in and applied chiefly to this; without which the more lights there are, the more shadows also will be cast by them all.

Look we now upon our own light, the light of nature and reason. In all philosophy there is not so dark a thing as light. As the sun, which is *fons lucis naturalis,* the fountain of this natural light, is the most evident thing to be seen and yet the hardest to be looked upon, so is this natural light we now see, to our reason and understanding.

Nothing clearer to sense, for we see through it, and see all things by it; and yet nothing so dark to us when we come to reason and discourse about it, it is enwrapped in so many scruples. Nothing nearer to our sight, for it is round about us; and yet nothing more remote from our knowledge, for we know neither entrance nor limits of it. Nothing more easy to be discerned, for every child can do it; and yet nothing more hard to be comprehended, for no man understands it. It is the most apprehensible by sense, and the least comprehensible by reason; if we wink, we cannot choose but see it; if we stare, we know it never the better. For no man is yet got so near to the knowledge of the qualities of light, as to know whether light itself be a quality or a substance.

If then this natural light be so dark to our natural reason,

[k] See Cosin's Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis, cap. v. § 20. p. 75. edit. 1675, where he establishes this assertion.

SERM. XX. how shall we hope to comprehend the supernatural light of this text, if we set our natural reason only to search into it, and pierce further to know it than the Scripture hath made it known and revealed it to us?

Among the ancients[1] they had a precious composition for their lamps, which kept light in their sepulchres as long as they were kept in there, for many hundred years together; and yet as soon as these lights of theirs within the close vaults were at any time discovered and brought forth into this light of ours within the open air, they presently vanished and came to nothing. It proves to be alike with this light of the text, the eternal light of Christ's Deity and His person, and the supernatural light of His faith and religion. If we keep them in their right sphere and hold them in their proper place, as they are contained and revealed to us in the Scriptures, they will enlighten and warm and purify us, as those fires and lights of old did their sepulchres; but when we bring this light out to the common light of natural reason, to our inferences and deductions, to our scruples and exceptions that we usually make there, it may be in danger both to vanish itself, and perchance to extinguish our reason besides. For men may search so far and reason so long of these matters, as that they may not only lose them, but even lose themselves and all, and so believe nothing.

Not, yet, that we are bound to believe any thing against our reason, that is, to believe we know not why. It is but a slack opinion, it is but a rash assent, it is not belief, that is not grounded upon right reason.

He that should come to an infidel, a carnal, a mere natural man, whom we presume to be endowed with the light of reason, and should at first, without any other preparation, present that man with this kind of necessity in believing,—'Thou shalt burn in fire and brimstone eternally, except thou believe a Trinity of Persons, without any more ado; and except thou believe the incarnation of the Son of God to be of the second Person in that Trinity, and except thou believe that a Virgin, a blessed Virgin, had a Son, and the same Son that God had, God and man in one Person,

[1] See Octavii Ferrarii dissertatio de veterum lucernis sepulchralibus, in Grævii Thesaur. Antiq. Roman., tom. xii. p. 997.

and that this one Person, being an immortal God, was afterwards put to death upon a cross;' this were somewhat an unreasonable proceeding with that natural and reasonable man; though it would not be so with us, who are already baptized, instructed, and believe the Scriptures to be the revealed word of God.

But for him that neither believes, nor ever heard of them before, so far would it be from working any spiritual cure upon him, that by such a course as this, the mysteries of Christ would be sooner brought into a contempt than into a belief with him. For that man, if any other should proceed so with him, 'Believe all we say or you burn in hell,' would find an easy way to answer and escape all; that is, first, not to believe hell itself, and then to say that nothing could bind him to believe all the rest.

Therefore with a natural man, if he had but reason, I would begin higher. For we yield it that reason must be satisfied, and for all our divinity we maintain it that reason may be satisfied by taking this way with it which I touched upon the last time.

First, that this world, the greater and the lesser world, frames of so much harmony and so much subordination in the parts of them both, must necessarily have had a workman to make them both; for nothing can make itself, as reason itself will conceive.

Then, that no such workman would deliver over a frame and work of so much majesty to be left to fortune, or carried casually at adventure, without any care or providence to govern it; but that He would still retain the sovereign administration of it in His own hands; for this is reason too.

Next, that if He does so, if He made us and not we ourselves, if He sustains us and not we ourselves, that then certainly there ought some service and worship to be done Him for doing so; and not that men should all serve themselves and do what they list, but that they should follow His will and pleasure in all things, Who was their Creator, and is their King; for this is but reason still.

Then, that if there be such a service to be done Him according to His will, that will of His must be manifest and made known, what it is, and what manner of service and religion

SERM. XX. will be acceptable to Him, or otherwise we had as good let Him have none at all; for this likewise our reason will suggest to us.

And lastly, that this manifestation of His will must be permanent, as all wills and all laws are, is but reasonable; and to make them so permanent and durable that they must be written and put upon record, is but reason neither; which record either this Scripture is, or none is, and then are all the former reasons gone. For let all the world shew such another, of so much evidence and majesty, so much consent and harmony, so many prophecies foretold, so many fulfilled in it; the promise and prophecy of this day above them all, the miracles to assert it, the long continuance to confirm it, and many other such evidences as we can produce for it besides;—all which if they make not up such an arithmetical, such a forcible argument as will tie up our reason in a pinfold, and make it assent whether it will or no, as all demonstrative arguments do, (for which the will shall never be rewarded,) yet such a logical, such a rational and persuasive argument they will make up, as that no reasonable man shall be able, with true reason, to withstand it. And then will the conclusion of all be, that therefore from this light of Scripture, which is the word and will of God, all the rules of our life and all the articles of our belief must of reason be drawn; and that light of reason will bring the natural man to the light of this text, that is, both to believe it, and to know upon what grounds and why he does believe it, and all that has been said of it.

For let no man think that God hath given him so much ease here as to enlighten him, or to save him, by believing he knows not what or why. Indeed knowledge will not save us, but yet without knowledge we are never like to be saved. It is the light of faith that shews the right way to be saved; but in that way faith is not on this side knowledge, but beyond it, and we must necessarily come to the light of knowledge and reason first; though when we are come thither we must not stay in it, but make use of it to lead us to a better and a higher light than it.

For a regenerate man (and it is the mystery and the Collect of this day that puts us in mind of a regenerate

man[m],) a regenerate man advanceth his reason; and being now made a new creature, hath also a new faculty and a new light of reason given him, whereby he believeth the mysteries of religion out of another reason than as a mere natural man he believed natural and moral things before. For he believes them now for their own light, the light of faith; though he took knowledge of them before by another light, the light of common reason, and by those human arguments which work upon other men, if they wilfully put not out their own light. As for instance, divers and sundry men walk by the sea side; and the same beams of the sun giving light to them all, one by the benefit of that light gathers up little light pebbles, and shells that are finely speckled, for their pleasure, for their vanity: and another by the same light seeks after the precious pearl and the amber, for a more noble use. So in the common light of reason, which is a beam that flows from this light of the text too, all men walk amongst us; but one employs this light upon the searching after impertinent vanities; another, by a better use of the same light, finds out the mysteries of religion, and falls in love with them both for their own worth's sake, and for the helps that they give him towards the leading of a righteous, a noble, and a true Christian life.

So some men by the benefit of. the light of nature have found out things profitable and useful for all men. Others have made use of that light to search and find out all the secret corners of pleasure and gain to themselves. They have found wherein the force and weakness of another consisteth, and made their advantage of him by circumventing him in them both. They have found his natural (I had better call it his unnatural,) humour, to neglect, and to contemn, or to forsake religion; and they have fed and fomented that disorder in him for their own ends. They have found all his inclinations to liberty and pleasure, to wantonness and vanity; and they have kept open that leak to his ruin.

All the ways both of worldly wisdom and of natural craft lay open to this light, but when they have gone all these ways and searched into all these corners, they have got no

[m] 'Almighty God . . . . grant that we being regenerate, and made Thy children by adoption and grace . . . .' Collect for Christmas day.

SERM. XX. further all this while than to a walk by a tempestuous sea side, and there gathered up a few cockle-shells of vanity, or other pedling pebbles, that are of no greater use than to play withal, or to do mischief with them when they have them.

Or take another similitude. The light and knowledge of these men seem to be great, out of the same reason that a torch in a misty night seems to be greater than in a clear, because it hath kindled and inflamed much thick and gross air round about it. For the light and knowledge of mere natural and carnal men seems great, not because it is so indeed, but because it kindles an admiration in some other airy persons about them, that are not so crafty, nor so busy, nor so knowing, peradventure, as themselves be.

But to make now our best use of this light, the light of nature and reason. If we can take this light of reason that is in us, this poor snuff of light that is almost out in us, that is, our faint and dim knowledge of the things of God, which riseth out of this light of nature; if we can but find out one small coal in those embers, though it be but a little spark of fire left among those cold ashes of our nature, yet if we will take the pains to kneel down and blow that coal with our devout and humble prayers, we shall by this means light ourselves a little candle, and by that light fall to reading that book which we call the history of the Bible, the will and the word of God. Then if with that candle we can go about and search for Christ, where He is to be found, in all the mysteries of His religion, in His humiliation to-day, begin there, (for this day brings that virtue of humility into credit,
p. 270. we shall not find that virtue in all Aristotle's Ethics, nor in all the books of all the natural philosophers in the world, they had no light to find it by, but begin there;) and if we can find a Saviour there, we will bless God for this beginning, it is the best sight that ever we saw in our lives, and concerns us most.

Mat. 2.14. Then if we can find Him flying into Egypt, and find ourselves in a disposition to follow Him and to keep Him company in a persecution, in a banishment; from thence to His life and doctrine, to hear Him what He says there; from thence to His cross and passion, to gather up some drops of His blood there; from thence to His resurrection, to find

the virtue and effect of it in ours here; and from thence to His ascension, that we may learn the way after Him thither; all this will bring us to the light of this text and to the love of the Scriptures, and that love to a belief of the truth of them all, and that historical belief to a belief of application, that as all these things were certainly done, so they were as certainly all done for us.

And thus one light directs us to another. And as by the quantity in the light of the moon, we know the position and distance of the sun, how far or how near the sun is to her; so by the working of the light of nature and reason in us, we may discern how near to the other greater light, the light of faith in Christ, we stand.

If we find our natural faculties rectified, so as that that understanding and reason, which we have in moral and civil actions, be bent likewise upon the practice and exaltation of Christian and religious actions, we may be sure this other greater light is about us. But if we be cold in them, in actuating, in exalting, in using our natural faculties and light to the end, we shall be in danger to be deprived of all light, we shall not see the invisible God in visible things, (which St. Paul makes so inexcusable, so unpardonable a sin,) we shall not see the light of God that shined upon us this day, nor the mind of God that was declared to us in this Gospel; we shall not see the hand of God in all our worldly crosses, nor the seal of God in any spiritual blessing or promise whatsoever. But the light of faith bears me witness that I see all this. Rom. 1. 19, 20.

To conclude: the light of nature, in the highest exaltation of it, is not the light of faith; but yet if there be that use made of it that there should be, it will make somewhat towards it. Faith and nature are subordinate, and the one rules the other. The light of faith bears me witness that I have Christ with all the benefit of His incarnation; and the light of natural reason exalted to religious uses, bears me witness that I have faith whereby I apprehend Him. Only that man whose conscience testifies to himself, and whose actions testify to the world, that he does what he can to follow the true light of this text, and all the rules of religion, and them only, which that Light set forth and revealed in His

SERM. XX. own word, that man only can believe himself, or be believed by others, that he hath the true light of faith and religion in him.

And when he is come once into this light, he shall never envy the lustre and glory of any other blazing lights of the world, that anywhere set up themselves to put out this; but when their light shall turn to darkness, his shall grow up from a fair hope to a full assurance that it shall never go out, and that neither the works of darkness, nor the prince and power of darkness, shall ever prevail against it; but as the light of reason is exalted to the light of faith here, so the light of faith shall be exalted unto the light of glory hereafter. Whereof this blessed Sacrament will be a true and a lively pledge, if it be received with a true and a lively faith, as I trust it has been by many of us already, and shall be now again in the sight of God and the presence of us all by him, upon whom, next under God, we all still depend for the preserving of this true light, and the upholding of Christ's true religion among us.

I should now go on to present you with those many and sundry lights of the world that I proposed at first, either appliable[1] or opposed to the light of this text. But I have set forth that which belongs most properly to this day; and having already filled up the portion of the day which is afforded for this sermon, I shall reserve the rest for another.

[1] applicable

To God Almighty, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for evermore. Amen.

SERMON XXI.

PARIS, JAN. 5, 1653, [NEW STYLE.]

DOMINICA SECUNDA POST NATIVITATEM DOMINI.

St. Matthew ii. [1. and] 2.

Venerunt magi .... dicentes, ... Vidimus enim stellam Ejus in oriente.

There came wise men .... and said, ... For we have seen His star in the east.

This text will be part of the Gospel which is appointed to be read in the Church to-morrow[a], and to-morrow will be the last day of the twelve which are appointed to wait upon the feast of Christ's blessed Nativity. The last day of the feast, and, as St. John said of another, the last and the greatest day of the feast to us; for by this last day we come to have an interest in the first, and by the light of this star to find out our right way to Christ. Joh. 7. 37.

I shall therefore take the opportunity of our meeting here together to-day, (which of all the twelve is the nearest to the last,) to look upon those persons that looked upon this star, and to take our text out of that Gospel which belongs to the day of Christ's Epiphany, the rather because this present Sunday (as by the course of our calendar it now falls out), hath no other proper Gospel of its own assigned to it[b].

[a] Namely, upon the Epiphany.

[b] Provision is made for only one Sunday between Christmas day and the Sunday after the Epiphany.

SERM. XXI. See p. 4.

From this appearing of the star we call it the Epiphany; and when we call it so we speak Greek, for Epiphany is neither English nor Latin, but a word borrowed from the Eastern Fathers, which in their language signifies a manifestation, or the shining out of somewhat from above. From whence God let this star appear in heaven, thereby to manifest Christ to the Gentiles here on earth, and so to us.

And because there were more Epiphanies of Him than one, the Epiphany of the Dove and the Voice from above, in the

Mat. 3. 17.

next chapter hereafter, as well as the Epiphany of the light, and the star from above, in this; therefore will you have

Lu. 3. 1—23.

to-morrow the lesson at His baptism for the one, as you have the Gospel at the sight of this His star, for the other.

See p. 2.

And though many other Epiphanies, or manifestations, of Him there were besides these which are remembered in the Church service all the Sundays following, yet this here hath carried that name from them all, both because it was the first of them all, and because it was one that did manifest as much of Him as all the rest did, that is, the divinity and the greatness of Christ there above, as well as the humanity and the humility of Christ here below.

Is. 7. 11.

The prophet Isaiah promised us that we should have two signs, one from the depth here beneath, and another from

Is. 7. 12.

the height above; and though Ahaz, and such as he is, regarded neither, yet God gave them both; and those that are wise, wise as these men were, will look either way, and regard them both (both the shepherds' sign and the wise men's sign), of which two as we have hitherto looked upon the one, so are we now come to take a view of the other, and to lift up our eyes from the humility of the cratch[1] to the sublimity of the star. *Vidimus enim stellam Ejus in oriente,* 'for we have seen His star in the east,' where for the better method of the sermon, we shall observe these parts of the text.

[1] a manger: see Skinner.

(I.) The persons that saw this sight, who they were, and what manner of persons they sustain.

(II.) Then the sight itself, or the star that they saw, what manner of star it was.

(III.) And thirdly, the place in which this star first appeared to them, whereof they say, *vidimus in oriente,* that they saw it in the east.

In which three, if we meddle not in the pulpit with these things which we meet withal in the schools, *Multa quæ sunt eruditæ quæstionis*, yet there are many things in them to be enquired after by us, which peradventure we knew not before.

The sum and application of all will be, that as these wise men did, so we also may look out to see if we can set our eyes upon this star, and then to guide our course by it how we are to go to seek, and to find, and to worship Christ, as they also did before us.

Of which that we may speak, &c.

Pater Noster, &c.

'For we have seen His star in the east.'

The matter of this text is the manifestation of our Saviour; and the manner of it is by a sign from heaven. A sign that was presented to certain persons of the East, with whom, as they stand here first, so are we now first to begin, and to enquire what manner of men, or what conditioned persons they were, that Christ should here first choose them out of all other men abroad in the world besides, to reveal and manifest Himself unto them.

The legends and uncertain stories of them, wherewith the vanities of former times were wont to entertain the people in their sermons at this season, have abused the patience and credulity of the world too much already when they could precisely reckon up their number, and tell every one of their names, and call that man an heretic that would not believe them to be the 'three kings of Colen.'

And because there are many now about us that are ready to say as much still, and to believe that tradition themselves no less than we believe this Gospel, if it might not be thought so much time and so many words lost, I would tell you how that legend hath been made up among them.

(1.) And first, for their number; there is an imperfect author, whom they have printed under St. Chrysostom's[c]

[c] Itaque elegerunt seipsos duodecim quidam ex ipsis studiosiores et amatores mysteriorum cœlestium, et posuerunt seipsos ad exspectationem stellæ illius &c. Opus Imperf. in S. Matth. inter Opp. S. Chrysost., tom. vi. Append. p. xxviii. edit. Par. 1724. See also Salmeron, Hist. Evang., tom. iii. p. 342. edit. Coloniæ, 1612.

SERM. XXI.

name, (but it is none of his[1], nor nothing like him,) who delivers it for a tradition in his time, though no man can yet tell whenever that time was, that they were twelve in number, and neither more nor less, to wait upon Christ's person, than there are now days to wait upon His nativity. But to this tradition they hold not.

[1] but see Cave, i. 312. 316.

There was a pope[d] not long after that, as they say, knew more of it than St. Chrysostom ever did, and he reduced them to the number of three, having no other reason so to do but only because they brought no more than three offerings to Christ with them; whereof he thought fit to assign every man one. And to this tradition they hold them now[e], saying, many of them, that it is a general tradition of the Universal Church; though in the meanwhile there was never yet any Church (and there are Churches of far greater extent than theirs is) that either held it, or so much as ever heard of it, but their own.

And yet if they would not obtrude this, or other such of their own traditions (as they have done of late) upon all other persons whatsoever, it were no great matter if (in such an indifferent and inconsiderable matter as this is), we suffered them to go alone by themselves and enjoy their own private opinion; but the reason that they give of it is not worth the owning, as if every one of these men came to offer a several gift[f], one to acknowledge Christ's royalty, another His divinity, and the third His humanity[g]; for he was a

[d] Sequuntur tres viri superni luminis ductum. S. Leonis de Epiph. Domini, Serm. 1. § 2. Quod utique exinde fieri novimus, ex quo tres magos, de longinquitate suæ regionis excitatos, ad cognoscendum et adorandum regem cœli perduxit. Serm. iii. § 4. See also Serm. iv. § 2, Serm. v. § 1, &c. in Bibl. Patr., tom. v. p. 2. p. 812, &c. edit. 1618.

[e] Dicendum vero est primo, tres tantum numero fuisse. Hæc est communis sententia sanctorum. Suarez in 3 part. S. Thomæ, tom. ii. p. 147. edit. 1616.

[f] So Maldonat, Fuisse autem tres, etsi non certa, tamen probabili conjectura ex donorum numero colligitur. Credibilius est enim diversa quam eadem omnes munera dedisse. See his note, *ad loc.* Significatum est Trinitatis mysterium in tribus muneribus et tribus personis, singulis singula munera offerentibus. Suarez in 3 part. S. Thomæ, tom. ii. p. 147.

[g] Per aurum rex ostenditur; in thure Deus dignoscitur; per myrrham homo passus atque sepultus. B. Alcuini Opera, tom. ii. p. 462. edit. 1777. Si autem sollicito intellectu velimus aspicere, quomodo etiam triplex illa species munerum ab omnibus, qui ad Christum gressu fidei veniunt, offeratur; nonne in cordibus recte credentium eadem celebratur oblatio? Aurum enim de thesauro animi sui promit qui Christum regem universitatis agnoscit. Myrrham offert, qui unigenitum Dei credit veram sibi hominis uniisse naturam. Et quodam eum thure venerantur, qui in nullo ipsum paternæ majestati imparem confitetur. S. Leonis, Serm. vi. de Epiph. Dom. § 1.

better Christian that said, *Non singuli singula, sed singuli tria obtulerunt*[h]. He that does not himself alone acknowledge all these three together in Christ, (as your Majesty does when you come upon that day to offer,) comes not to Christ as these men did, but keeps from Him one of his oblations, one of his due recognitions; either his gold, or his frankincense, or his myrrh is wanting.

(2.) Secondly, for their names. There was one Peter Comestor[i] that furnished their legend with no less than nine of them together, three in Hebrew, and three in Greek, and three in Latin; and all of his own making, for he lived not in the world, and was not born till they had been above a thousand years dead in their graves, and he had never an author of whom to learn any of those names but himself alone. Upon whose credit some other men took them afterwards up, and made use of them for their several purposes. Whereof in Philip Melancthon's and Luther's time (for so they say themselves) their using of those names for certain spells that they had in those days, was one[k].

fl. A.D. 1170. Cave, ii. 239.

Bibl. Patr., tom. v. p. 2. p. 817. edit. 1618. See also Tostatus in cap. ii. Mat. quæst. 46. Opp. i. 215. edit. Venet. 1615, et Ludolph. de Saxonia de Vita Christi, sig. d. iiij, edit. Lugd. 1516.

[h] Unusquisque autem eorum prædicta tria obtulit, quia, ut dictum est, mysterio congruit. Nullus enim vere Christianus dicitur qui non Christum et Deum et regem et passum confiteatur, quod illis tribus muneribus significatur; unde Remigius, Isti magi non singuli singula obtulerunt, sed singula tria. Ludolph. de Saxonia de Vita Christi, sig. d. iiij.

Quæritur an singuli singula, an unusquisque tria obtulerit. Sed magis fatendum est quod congruit mysterio, scilicet, quod singuli tria. Unusquisque enim regem et Deum et passibilem Eum credebat. S. Anselmi Opp., tom. i. p. 16. edit. 1573.

Ingressi vero magi domum, quam diversorium Lucas nominat, obtulerunt puero singuli aurum, thus et myrram, secundum Sabæis consuetam oblationem. Pet. Comest. Historia Evangelica, cap. viii. edit. Argent. 1483.

[i] Nomina trium magorum hæc sunt Hebraice, Appellius, Ametus, Damasius; Grece, Galgalath, Magalath, Sarachim. Pet. Comest. Hist. Evang., cap. viii. edit. 1483. Nato enim Domino, tres magi Iherosolimam venerunt, quorum nomina in Hebreo sunt Appellius, Mellius, Damascus; Grece, Galgalath, Malgalath, Sarachim; Latine, Jaspar, Balthasar, Melchior. Legenda Sanctorum, fol. 25. edit. Colon. 1483.

[k] Et ut nihil deesset ad impiam prophanationem, mos etiam iste vere magicus inolevit, ut fictis his Caspari, Balthasaris et Melchioris nominibus, cum crucis signo ter repetito puræ chartæ vel pergamine inscriptis et collo appensis, quosvis morbos, scilicet, depellant. Hospin. de origine festorum Christian., p. 45. edit. Gen. 1674. But Cosin need not have gone to Germany for an illustration of this superstition. There is (or was) in the vestry of St. Peter's Mancroft, in his native city of Norwich, a brass plate bearing this inscription:—

Jaspar fert myrrham, thus Melchior,
Balthasar aurum;
Hæc tria qui secum portabit nomina
regum
Solvitur a morbo, Christi pietate,
caduco.

See Bloomfield's History of Norfolk, iv. 221, 8vo.

SERM. XXI.

(3.) And this added a third story to their legend, where, because St. Matthew said in his language that they were the magi, the common people were made to believe, in their language, that they were all magicians[l]; as good a reason, that, as, because he said that they came from the east, therefore that they were all Ethiopians, or those whom we call the black-moors of Africk, which is full south from Jerusalem.

(4.) But whatsoever their names or their country were heretofore, they have now, in a manner, lost them both, and are generally (by them that would teach us all how to speak) called the three kings of [1]Colen, a town here hard by[m]; not because they ever lived there, but only because they are said to lie there; or else they are much mistaken that say it, for as they cannot agree, nor tell who brought them thither, so I think it is as great a question whether they be there at all, when at Saragosa in Spain, some men are as confident that they have them there as others are at Colen that they lie buried (not so, neither, but that they are all put up in their silver shrines), among them. I doubt it is too true that which father Latimer said once of them, in one of his sermons upon this Epiphany before king Edward; that there is no truth in any of these stories at all[n]. And so I leave them to their own uncertainties, that we may enquire after these persons here at a far better oracle, and there learn some instructions from them.

[1] Cologne

The best light we have to see and know who they were is in the Scriptures, where if we look upon them as they are set forth in this chapter of St. Matthew, and in some other places that were written and prophesied of them before, we shall find that they sustain the nature and condition of four several sorts of persons. Whereof the first is, the persons of the Gentiles and heathen men; for they were men of the East, and at that door come we all in, east, and west, and

[l] See Tostat. in cap. ii. Mat. quæst. 6, Opp. tom. ii. p. 183; Suarez in 3 part. S. Thomæ, tom. ii. p. 147.

[m] Quod ad sacra eorum corpora pertinet, hæc a Persia Constantinopolim translata, et inde Mediolanum delata fuisse legimus, quæ deinde Frederico imperatore, ejus nominis primo, Coloniam pervenerunt, ubi adhuc illa religiose recondi tota Germania tot seculis confitetur. P. Canisii Notæ in Evangelicas Lectiones, p. 160. edit. Frib. Helv. 1595.

[n] "But how these men came to Colen in Germany, I marvel greatly; I think it is but the fantasies and illusions of the devil, which stirred up men to worship stone and wood." Latimer's Sermons, vol. ii. p. 353, edit. 1824; see also p. 363.

all, as St. Paul told them at Antioch, at the door of hope which God had set open to the Gentiles, whereof these men were the first that ever [o] entered in at that door; and when they entered, they did it not in their own persons alone, but in the names and persons of us all, all the Gentiles that should come after them, to whom they led the way to Christ, and left the door open for us ever since; for Christ That let them in, if we will but take the pains to seek Him and to come to Him as they did, we may be sure will never shut us out; but as by them He hath invited us, so He will be ready to receive us, and make good all those promises which both by His patriarchs and His prophets before, and by Himself and His Apostles after, He hath published to all the world. For so He did when He said first, that all the nations of the earth should be the better for Him, by virtue of which saying, these first-fruits of the Gentiles had their interest in Him. And so He did again when He bid all the nations of the earth come to Him; by virtue of which saying likewise, both we ourselves and all other people besides, (all that do not either sit still and never look after Him, or do not go the wrong way to Him, when they seek Him,) all such may have their interest also in Him as well as these men here had.

Acts 13. 26.

Ps. 72. 17. Jer. 33. 9, &c.

Ps. 86. 9. Is. 2. 2, &c.

(2.) Secondly, they sustain the persons of great and honourable men. For so much we have of them in this chapter, whereby we may fairly and clearly collect that they were men of some higher note and regard than other common men were. And the prophecies that went of them before call them no less than kings and princes; to-morrow you shall have two lessons that call them so, more than once, (five or six times together,) besides that prophecy in the Psalms which hath been usually applied to them in the Church, that the kings of the isles should come and offer Him presents, the kings of Arabia and Sheba should come and fall down before Him with their gifts [p].

Is. 49. 7; 60. 3, 10, &c.

Ps. 72. 10, 11.

[o] Et ideo erant magi non malefici, sed sapientes; primitiæ fidei nostræ. Ludolph. de Saxonia, sig. d. ij. The expression is borrowed from St. Augustine, Opp. v. 637; see also Bibl. Patr. v. 621; S. Chrysost. iii. 396.

[p] See Tertull. adv. Judæos, § 9. edit. Gersdorf. p. 4. p. 311; and Suarez in 3 part. S. Thomæ, q. 36. disp. 14. § 2, 'Quot et cujus conditionis viri magi fuerint.'

SERM. XXI. Or if that place be not precisely to be understood of them, but rather of some other kings and princes that came in long after them, (for if they were kings, they must be kings of some parts of the east, from whence St. Matthew says here they came, and not of any parts of the south, from whence it was that the queen of Sheba came, whom therefore Christ Himself calls the queen of the south,) and yet this hinders not but that Isaiah prophesied of them, as well as David prophesied of others; and so they might be kings still.

Mat. 12. 42.

I had rather it should be so than otherwise; both for the honour of kings, that Christ should first of all call them to Him before all others; and for the honour of us all, that kings should be our first leaders to Christ, and the *antesignani*, the standard-bearers of our true religion towards Him. He that hath not a malignant eye to one of these three, either to Christ Himself, or to the presents that are brought Him, or to them that bring Him the presents, will be willing enough to let them be here, as Isaiah called them long before, to let them be kings.

But however it be, surely men of great rank and condition they were, for they came not to Jerusalem here as men that went about their own private affairs, and nobody to regard or look after them when they came. But they made their entrance into the city after a public and a solemn manner; they are ushered in by a star from heaven; they come, if not as kings themselves, yet as the ambassadors and lieutenants of kings, at least. And they come from the whole body of the Gentiles, in the behalf of them all, to negotiate with the new-born King about their peace and alliance with Him for ever; a matter of greater state and more concernment than if all the kings and princes of the earth had met together at Jerusalem about their own alliance or peace, one with another. Whereupon the whole city takes notice of them, the king there, and the people, and all; and so great an embassy, so powerful a coming it was, that they were all amazed and troubled at it, Herod and all Jerusalem with him. Whether it was their great number that attended them, or whether it was their great treasures that they brought with them; or whether it was, chiefly, their business and their errand that they caused to be pro-

ver. 3, 4.

claimed and published before them; or all these together[q];—but somewhat it was that rendered them such persons, as that the king called together his council about him for their better reception and audience, and admitted them to his own private conference with him besides, giving them their despatch and their answer (which princes use not often to do, but to persons as great or as considerable as themselves), with his own mouth. So great persons they were.

Now from the greatness of their persons great men have their lessons, that as they have their interest in Christ as well as others, so it is their duty to look after Him no less than others do; and wherever they can find Him, though it be in His great humility, in His cratch or in His cross, the cratch of His contempt, or the cross of His persecutions, or in any condition whatsoever, yet there to come and acknowledge Him, and with all their greatness, and all their train, and all the treasures that they have, to fall down at His feet and offer their service to Him; the great men of the world no less than the meanest shepherds of the field (of whom you heard last that they had their Angel, as well as these men had their star), to bring them both to Christ. For as He is no accepter, so is He no excepter neither, of any person whatsoever, but looks for the same fear, and the same honour, and the same religion from them all alike. Lu. 2. 9. Gal. 2. 6.

(3.) Thirdly, as they sustained the persons of great and honourable men, so did they the persons of wise and learned men besides, which was the title (as a title more to be regarded than all their greatness), that St. Matthew here gave them. Though in calling of them the magi of the East he does in effect, and virtually, call them the princes of the East; for magi, though it be a word now indenizened into the Greek and Latin tongues, (wherein commonly the masters of those tongues that use that word have no very good meaning in it neither, when they use it for such as Simon Magus, or Elymas the sorcerer was, in the Acts of the Apostles,) yet originally and properly the word belongs to neither of them both, being in itself (as Herodotus[r] that knew it best, has

[q] See Tostat. in cap. ii. Matth. q. 24. and 25, where he enquires into the reasons of this excitement.

[r] Lib. i. § 140. edit. Wesseling. See also Cicero de Divin. i. § 23.

SERM. XXI.

told us), a Persian word, where there was never a king that had not this name of Magus given to him, that is, a man learned and wise in all manner of natural and supernatural knowledge; whereof they accounted their knowledge in astrology, or their study of the stars, to be chief. And in that sense was it given to these men here; for from that place they came. In other places and in after times it came to be a word corrupted and to degenerate into a bad sense; but here it held in a good.

And a good use may be made of it; that as Moses was never the worse for being brought up and learned in all the wisdom and learning of Egypt, so shall neither any greatness of place, nor any greatness of knowledge, nor any height of wisdom and learning whatsoever (if it be rightly ordered), make any persons the more unfit for their coming to Christ, or keep them at all the farther off from Him, Whose supernatural and divine knowledge may well make the other subservient to it, but destroys it never.

Acts 7. 22.

(4.) Lastly then, they sustain the persons of faithful and religious men, without which all the greatness and all the wisdom or learning of the world besides will do us no good.

The star that was in heaven set fire upon another star that was in their hearts, which St. Peter calls the star of faith, that shineth out there no less than this star did in the firmament. A star that will bring every man to Christ, and make him wise enough; for it will make him wise to salvation, which is a wisdom far above all that worldly men have, and far transcending all that these wise men had before they had it.

2 Pet. 1. 19.

Wise men they were before, and much knowledge they had, but never so truly wise till now that their knowledge in other matters brought them to the true knowledge of Christ, and that their looking up to heaven, to the light and the star there, taught them how to find their way on earth, and to come, with St. Peter's star in their hearts, to Him Whom St. John calls *Lucifer orientis*, that is, the bright morning star of all the world, without Whose light and influence, both they, and we, and all the world, had been still in darkness. But now it is *oriens ex alto*, and it was their wisdom to follow it, so will it be ours; and if we be wise, by one and the same

2 Pet. 1. 19.

Rev. 22. 16.

Spirit we shall think we know nothing till we come to know our right way to Christ, and how much it concerns us never to be seen out of it, if ever we mean to come where He now is.

And here I have done with the persons.

II. Follows now, to look awhile upon the star that was presented to these persons, *vidimus enim stellam Ejus.*

Where we have two things to see to; the first, that they saw it was a star: the second, that they saw it and knew it to be His star. *Stella* and *stella Ejus;* these two.

(1.) And first, for the star itself. To know what manner of star it was, it hath posed not only the greatest astrologers, (the diviners at the stars,) but the greatest divines too, the searchers into higher matters than they were able to reach; it hath posed them all that ever meddled in it. For when they have come, any of them, to look too curiously after it, it hath so dazzled their eyes that like men planet-stricken they can hardly tell what they say, and conclude about it they know not what[s].

The beginning and the ending of it, the place, the motion, the splendour, and many other peculiars it had, trouble them all; insomuch as some of them, after a great deal of time and labour lost, are fain to give it quite over, and say it was nothing else but either the Angel that appeared to the shepherds, or the Holy Ghost Himself. But though it be most generally held with St. Austin that it was a new-created star, yet, as St. Gregory Nyssen[t] said of it, (for it was an opinion older than St. Austin[u],) I see no reason for it at all. For why might not one of the very stars be now set to move at God's pleasure, out of the ordinary way and course of it for this purpose, as well as the sun and the moon were once made to stand still and not to move at all, for another?

We will therefore let all other men's sayings of it alone,

[s] The various opinions respecting this star have been collected and the theories respecting it discussed by Suarez in 3 Thomæ, q. 36. art. 8. disp. 14. § 5. and Tostat. in cap. ii. S. Matth. q. 11, 12, 13, 14, &c.

[t] S. Greg. Nyss., tom. iii. pp. 343, 344. edit. Par. 1638.

[u] Proinde non ex illis erat hæc stellis quæ ab initio creaturæ itinerum suorum ordinem sub Creatoris lege custodiunt; sed novo Virginis partu novum sidus apparuit. S. August., tom. viii. col. 135. See also the passage of Suarez last referred to, where St. Augustine's opinion is defended.

SERM. XXI.

and rest only in these who say they saw it with their eyes, that a star it was. And if we will now look at it, as they did, more to increase our faith than to satisfy our curiosity, we shall find enough in this book of the Scriptures to content us, and to resolve us all the questions that need to be made about it. Leaving therefore the exact particulars of it to Him That first made it, and afterwards ordered it as He pleased best Himself, and Who indeed only knows what it was, (for He can call all the stars by their names, which no man could ever yet do besides,)—if we demand why God did here manifest His Son by a star? three reasons there are given of it, and being all grounded upon the mysteries of our faith and religion, they are good and useful for us, all three; but there is a fourth that is more sure and certain than they are, and to that, when we shall come to it, (for I see I shall be hardly able to reach it to-day,) we are to hold us.

Ps. 147. 4.

(1.) But first, by a star it was, and no greater light; for though the Epiphany of Christ would have been more glorious, and more manifestation-like if it had been made manifest by the sun, or by the moon, from whence the sound of it would have gone out into all lands, and the news of it to the uttermost parts of the earth, that the whole world might have been stirred up at it, and so set to enquire after it, in twenty-four hours at furthest;—yet because the fulness of the Gentiles was not to come in all at once, they had but their star-light at the dawning of the day, but afterwards they had the sun in his brightness, his full strength upon them, and then was Christ in His glory; now He was in His humility.

Rom. 10. 18.
Ps. 19. 4.

(2.) But secondly, by a star it was, and no less light; it was neither a meteor nor a fire-drake, but a star it was, and a glorious creature it was. For the stars are the glorious inhabitants of heaven; and for one of them to wait upon Christ's humility here on earth, it was a sign that there was somewhat more in His person than was to be seen in His condition; more in that little habitation at Bethlem, over which the star stood, than was in all the world besides, and more to be honoured.

Whereof ye shall mark the Evangelists to be ever careful in mentioning these two together, His humility and His

glory, His lowliness and His majesty, all His life through. If men be scandalized and offended at it when they hear of their Saviour in a cratch, where they themselves through their own pride and luxury had laid Him, let them listen to the celestial music that the Angels and the quire of heaven made about it, as soon as ever they had but named it to the shepherds. If they think much of His stable, let them look upon His star. He That was hungry Himself knew how to feed many thousands at a time; and He That died upon the cross, which useth to be the greatest scandal of all, was at the very same time disposing of paradise, which is the greatest power of all. Ye shall see a beam of this star still pointing to Him, and reflecting again from Him, in every thing He did.

Lu. 2. 13. Mat. 21. 18. Mat. 14. 21, &c. Lu. 23. 46. 1 Cor. 1. 23. Lu. 23. 43.

(3.) Thirdly, by a star, as most suitable and agreeable to them here, that were seen in the stars and read in that book of the creatures, for the stars were the best books they had. And where they sought God in His works, God was pleased to reveal somewhat more to them in His word, and to meet with them in their own learning[v].

Qui disponit omnia suaviter, as the Wise Man speaks of Him; God disposeth of all things and applies Himself so to all men, that otherwhiles He becomes that thing to us which we most affect and study. For He puts no man out of his way, (always provided that sinful courses and wicked studies be accounted no ways, for they are deviations, and running out of a man's way,) but otherwise the Holy Ghost will pursue every man in his own way, if they be willing to listen after Him; and therefore He deals here with these men as He does often in other places of this book, He speaks usually in such forms, and after such a manner, as may most work upon them to whom He speaks. Of Moses and David, that were both shepherds before, God says that He took them to lead and to feed His people. To the Samaritan whom Christ found at the well, He took occasion to preach to her of the water of life. To those that followed Him to Capernaum for bread, He preached of the bread of heaven, and the food that should never perish. To them that were fishers, He tells them that they should be so still, though in a more

Prov. 16. 33. Ex. 32. 34; 34. 3. Ps. 78. 71. Joh. 4. 10. Joh. 6. 35. Mat. 4. 19.

[v] See Tostat. in ii. cap. S. Matth. q. 11.

SERM. XXI.

troublesome sea than they toiled and wrought in before. And to these men in the text, accustomed to the study and contemplation of the stars, He presents them with a star agreeable to their own employment, that so He might bring them that way, by their own way, to Himself.

And yet He does it not here by an asterism, but by one star only, and no more, the better to advance their learning from a natural and ordinary, to a supernatural and divine knowledge of Him. For those that are natural astrologers,

Gen. 1. 14. to whom, as we read in Genesis, God hath given the stars of heaven for signs and seasons, they never use to calculate by one star alone, but most an end by the conjunctions of many aspects, by constellations and oppositions in the ascendant of one star against another, which here these men found not.

But this they found, that herein God did not so much put them out of this way as He set them forwards, and far righter in it than they were before.

Be but we willing to have Christ alway in our eye, to make Him the guide and end of our way, and He will never lead us out of it, but make use even of our own ways to bring

1 Cor. 9. 22. us to heaven. For He is, as His Apostle was; He makes heaven all things to all men, that He might gain all. To the man that loves true pleasure and gladness, He presents it

Gal. 5. 22. as all joy; and to the like ambitious man, as all glory; to

2 Cor. 4. 17. Mat. 13. 45. the merchant-man it is a pearl; to the husbandman it is a rich field. To all men it is made all things, that they might

Mat. 13. 24. come all thither to Him.

1 Cor. 9. 19. And these three are good lessons for us, and good reasons for the star.

(4.) But there is yet another, to which I must stick closer, and rely upon it more than upon all these, and that is the fourth and the last reason of all, if we could pursue it now; that God might be as good as His word, and found true in His promise, whereof He never fails.

For He had long since made a special promise to us all, that this star, by the name of a star, should arise upon us; *orietur*

Num. 24. 17. *stella ex Jacob*. It will take up some time to look upon it well. But there came one from the mountains of the east, fifteen

B.C. 1452. hundred years before, and saw in his prophecy there, (which

Num. 23. 12. God Himself had put into his mouth,) the same star that the

wise men[x] saw here, and the same light that Simeon saw after, saw it with his eyes; we say one of our hymns for it there every[y] day, in memory that this promise of God was kept, and that this prophecy was fulfilled by it, the prophecy of *orietur stella in Jacob;* which is all the light we have now or ever they had before us, to bring us all out of the kingdom of sin and darkness to the kingdom of grace and glory; grace here and glory hereafter. Lu. 2. 42.

It is a good point, this, to be followed; but we are now at a good period to make our stand.

And because both the season is to be regarded, and the Sacrament to be attended, I will therefore suffer the time to take me here off from this sermon. There are in the text both this point and two more, which I propounded to myself at first to be stood upon and considered more at large; but there are more Sundays belonging to this Epiphany of Christ than one, and it will not be untimely both to make an end of this text and to make our best use of this star, upon any of them all.

To God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons and one eternal Deity, be all honour and glory, now and for ever. *Amen.*

[x] See the authorities quoted by Suarez, in 3 Thom., tom. ii. p. 154.

[y] The Nunc dimittis.

SERMON XXII.

CORAM [REGE ET DUCIBUS[a]] JACOBO, &c.

PARIS. IN FESTO NATIVITATIS CHRISTI. 1655.

1 TIMOTHY iii. 16.[b]

Magnum est pietatis mysterium, Deus manifestatus in carne.

Great is the mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh.

SERM. XXII.

HERE is *mysterium* and *magnum*, a mystery, and a great one; and it is not the least nor the easiest part of our office in preaching, to explain and unfold a mystery, so that every one may apprehend and understand what we say it is. A great mystery it is that we are now to speak of; in which respect the time and the text are so far both alike; for this is a time wherein we keep a great festival in the Church, and this is a text whereupon we found a great article in our Creed, the feast and the article of God's nativity and mysterious incarnation; than which there is not a greater that belongs to our religion. But the greatness is not all. There is, besides the greatness of the day and the greatness of the mystery, somewhat else required, both to make up the text and to make up our duty that we owe too: for it is not only *magnum mysterium*, but *magnæ pietatis mysterium*;—a great mystery, and a great deal of piety and godliness that goes along with it; wherein, if the greatness of our duty may be answerable also to the greatness of the feast, and be made like to the

[a] The words enclosed within brackets are marked for omission.

[b] This sermon abounds with so many alterations and transpositions, that the arrangement intended to be ultimately adopted is not quite obvious.

mystery of this text; that is to say, if God's being made manifest in the flesh may teach us to deny and abandon all the ungodly and manifest lusts of the flesh; which is the great and the proper lesson of this day, the lesson that we shall hear anon at night,—then, and then only, do we keep a good Christmas: for this feast is ever so to begin and so to be concluded, that it may leave the better impression in us, and learn us how to begin to-day with Christ, to live well all the year after. To this end is this feast to be ordered; for to no other ends do we observe any times or feasts in the Church whatsoever; that, the lesson and the doctrine, and this, the use of them all.

The doctrine, to confirm us in the faith of Christ; and the use, to conform us to the life of Christ: that our godliness may be as manifest to Him, as His mystery was made manifest here to us[c].

But to set forth the heads which we intend upon this text, there are in it four several terms, whereof each term will make us a part.

I. *Mysterium* is the first. That there are certain secrets and mysteries in our Christian religion, whereof here is one.

II. Secondly, *Quid sibi vult hoc mysterium*, what this mystery here is; and it is *Deus manifestatus in carne*, God manifest in the flesh.

III. To which there belongs, in the third place, a *quantum*, how great a mystery it is.

IV. And in the fourth, a *quale*, of what nature and quality it is.

Magnum pietatis mysterium. It is a great mystery of piety; was so to-day with Christ, and would be no less with us; for He looks to have such use made of it. This mystery of piety to be opposed to all the mysteries of iniquity; and God's coming in the flesh to be set against the ungodly and sinful lusts of the flesh; for otherwise we shall make no more than a history only of this mystery, and be never the better.

[[d] The first words of this verse are, that this mystery was

[c] Then originally followed these words, which were afterwards erased:—'and that we might give no more contradiction to the one than St. Paul and all true Christians after him made a controversy of the other.'

[d] The passage here enclosed within brackets has been marked by Cosin for omission.

SERM. XXII. without controversy; that is, was so in the Apostle's days, all the Church over; and but for a few unquiet and unruly spirits of contradiction, that have risen up since, would have continued so still; we should have heard of no more controversy about it in our days than St. Paul did in his: but we meddle with no controversies here. Be it where it will, of this sure I am, that the true Churches of Christ make none about it at all. And I presume there are none in this place, for we are all come out to keep the feast; I cannot answer for them that be away and keep it not; but none of us that are otherwise minded. Therefore did I at first leave these first words out, and took it for granted, that without controversy this text will pass upon St. Paul's terms of ὁμολογουμένως; that is, for an article of our common confession, and a received truth among us all.

Concerning which truth, though there be among our interpreters some difference in the reading[e], and some in the sense, yet neither of them is material; and I shall pray you to think I make choice both of that reading and that sense, which I judge to be most sound and agreeable to this festival.]

Of which that we may speak, &c.

Pater noster, &c.

I. 'Great is the mystery.' We will first discourse of it a little in the general, that there are some mysteries in religion. For as all other arts and sciences have their own proper and peculiar mysteries belonging specially to themselves, which are not so well known or comprehended by every ordinary and vulgar capacity, as they are by those that be professed that way, and have had their wits and their senses long exercised in them,—so is it in divinity; wherein, besides the known and universal principles which it hath common with other sciences, there be certain secret and mystical points to be delivered, which it hath peculiar to itself; there be some deep and high points of religion: whereof the mystery of God incarnate here in our flesh is but one. The things of Christ are secrets, all. His whole history is a mystery, and the pro-

[e] Namely, ὁ or ὅς, instead of Θεὸς, concerning which see Wolfius, and the authorities there pointed out, to which add Burton's Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, p. 141. 369.

ject of it no less, which tends all to mystical and high matters; the preaching whereof, because otherwhiles they go cross to the common conceit of carnal and worldly men, seem to be nothing else but so many paradoxes and unreasonable strange things; as the philosophers said to St. Paul at Athens, when they heard him preach the things of Christ there, *peregrina quædam infers auribus nostris;* the masters of those schools were not acquainted with them. Even moral divinity is harsh to flesh and blood; for we preach against sensual pleasures, and they love nothing better; we preach obedience, and every man loves to be at liberty; we would keep the will and the affections of men in order, and no man loves to be confined. How will they do for renouncing the world, and setting their spirits to be at a continual enmity and warfare against their flesh! There are no matters so strange and mystical to men as those two be; and yet if it were not for the common mysteries of iniquity, which most men court and follow, these mysteries of moral divinity and duties of religion would be plain and easy enough to them. Acts 17. 20.

But the mysteries and matters of faith, that common sense and reason do not so usually employ themselves to understand, they are mysteries indeed. I speak concerning Christ and His Church, saith St. Paul, in which respect this Sacrament is a mystery, this and the other are great mysteries both. The making of a man a new creature is a mystery, that is, another manner of person than he was before; the resurrection and the life eternal are mysteries. No carnal man conceives what any of these things are; they are either hid from his eyes, or else there is such a beam in his eye that he cannot see them. But among all these, there is none that finds a slower and harder belief than this mystery in the text, nor none that ever met with a stronger opposition. Eph. 5. 32.

For it is a mystery in divinity that is no where else to be learned, no where to be found or heard of but in the schools of the Prophets and Apostles; and therefore the masters of natural reason, that had served their apprenticeship only in the philosophic schools, and walked no further for their sanctuary than to Aristotle's gallery, can never be brought to apprehend it.

SERM. XXII.

It is a high point this, and men, natural men, are short-sighted; they see but little, and they believe no more than they see; which makes them incapable not only of this mystery, but of all other the secrets of Christ's gospel, and the mysteries of His salvation, that are diffused through the whole book of God besides.

For indeed the whole project of the Bible is a science full of mysteries; and this mystery in the text is the treasury and storehouse of them all.

And now let not this our Bible-religion fare the worse for that, that there are so many mysteries in it; for there be as many lights in it besides; whereof, if good use be made, those mysteries will become the more behoveful for us, so the more clear to us; being hid to none, but them that perish in their own wilful or affected darkness. For in this they perish, that the light of these mysteries is come into the world, and they, because their thoughts and their deeds are evil, are then best at ease when that light is farthest from them; which is the true difference between all the mysteries of iniquity and this great mystery of godliness.

2 Cor. 4. 3.

Joh. 3. 19, 20.

2. Again, we ask no more in divinity than otherwhiles they ask in nature; where the mysteries be oftentimes so abstruse and hidden in themselves, that no man's reason is able to reach them, nor the light of nature clear enough to find out the secrets of nature itself. In which regard it is but reason we ask; that as much be allowed us in our religion as we allow them in theirs, and that Christ may have His mysteries as well as any naturalist or philosopher of them all.

In the meanwhile we preach no mysteries against reason when we say they go beyond it, for in this case religion and reason are not opposite, but subordinate; and where they be otherwise[f], (as in many mysteries of the new divinity among some of our neighbours they be,) there we must have leave to suspect them, and avoid them, and oppose them too; but where we bring the word and authority of God for them, there is no more to be said, for then have we all the reason of the world to receive them.

And let none of the exceptions trouble us that Julian and his disciples made once against us. He, and Porphyry, and

[f] See Scherzer, Colleg. Anti-Socin., p. 21.

Lucian, were three apostates from this mystery of godliness; and all they had to say against it was, that it wanted reason; for they measured their reason by their lusts, and their understanding by their own corrupt affections; whatsoever suited not to their carnal principles and the depravations of flesh and blood, had with them no reason in it at all. And their disciples are like them, who take exceptions to these mysteries of religion for nothing more than that there is somewhat in them which will no way consist with their mysteries of iniquity.

For as to their other exception, that we speak mysteries here in the Church which no man understands, as when we preach this mystery of Christ's incarnation for one, God manifest in the flesh, the bare and simple belief whereof and of other such mysteries, is, as they say, all we have to trust to, for want of other reason,—this is so far from truth and reason both, that we can justly say there is never an Apostle, nor ever an ancient Father of the Church, (who were all as great masters of reason as any that take their liberty to find fault with them for want of reason,) none of them all but will be ready to join with these men upon that title, and maintain our mysteries of faith upon better reason; that is, reason founded upon surer principles, than any be in the world besides. 1 Tim. 3. 16.

For we teach not men here to believe they know not what, nor any mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, they know not why; we believe, saith St. Peter, and we are ready to give an account and to render a reason of what we believe. Nor let any man think that God hath given him so much ease in this life, as to let him sit still there and make no use of his reason for the mysteries of the other life. We call it not faith, that is not grounded upon reason; and we ground our strongest reason upon the word of God Himself, That never spake other. 1 Pet. 3. 15.

To us it is given to know the mysteries of His kingdom, and when we know them rightly, to believe them firmly; for faith sets knowledge first before it, and then goes beyond it. Which is the mystery and profession of a man regenerate[g] and made a new creature, whereby he hath a new faculty of Mat. 13. 11.

[g] Suggested by the Collect of the day.

SERM. XXII.

reason given him and becomes a better man than he was; for in every one of us there be, as the Apostle speaks, two several men, two different persons in two several respects, the outward and the inward man. By the outward we believe natural and moral things; by the inward we believe the mystery of the kingdom of heaven, and have our rational apprehensions exalted to a higher level than they were before; this by grace, and that by nature; but both by the grace and will of God, That hath ordered them both to the knowledge and belief of His mysteries.

2 Cor. 4. 16.

In all which we do not compare the master and the servant, nor make our reason equal to our faith; and yet we thank that servant that brings us to his master. We make a great differance between the treasure in the chest and the key that helps to open it, and yet we are glad to have that key ready in our hands. The faculties of nature are far from being enough; but as a candle may kindle a torch, so into those faculties of nature, well employed, doth God infuse the light of faith to let me in to His mysteries of religion.

And thus much we thought fit to be spoken of these mysteries in general. Come we now to the mysteries of this day, for which we are chiefly come hither, in particular.

II. That Christ was made manifest and born to-day in the flesh, we have it upon record and by way of history, set forth both in secular and sacred authors. Of this there was no doubt at all, for it had the greatest attestation to it that could be required in a story; heaven and earth rang of it. The shepherds went out from the fields; and the heralds of heaven, the Angels, came down from their celestial mansions to publish it; and the princes of the earth went forth from the mountains of the east to wait upon it; from the shepherd to the king they enquired after it, and all the streets of Jerusalem were filled with the noise and report about it. The records were likewise fetched, and they found out there both the person, and the place, and the time, and missed not a circumstance that belonged to it. All the scribes were consulted, and all the prophecies produced that had been written of it many hundred years before; kings, and priests, and people all together, every one made it their business to attend to it for the time; and from thenceforth all the world was

Lu. 2. 8.

Lu. 2. 9.

Mat. 2. 1, 3, 4, &c.

taken up with the thoughts of it. This, as it presumes it a great birth, so it makes it a great history; and if it were no more than so, it deserves all the outward honour and solemnity that we can give it, which is to proclaim the manifestation of this birth still, and to keep up the memory of this day alive, that it may never die in our [hearts,] as it is like to do in theirs who of late have scraped it out of their calendar[h]. I go no further in the history; and yet, as I said, if it were no more but a history, it is one of the greatest certainty, and the greatest dignity, and the greatest concernment, that ever the world heard of besides.

Indeed the common sort of the world, they look no further after it and make no more of it than a great holy-day history at the best; as it is from year to year remembered here in the Church, and recorded in the Evangelists.

But the Apostle in this text stays not there, he goes further than the Evangelists, and looks into the secrets of their story; he finds out a mystery in this history. Between which two there are great odds; for men may sit down and hear a story, and rise up again to go their way without putting themselves to any further trouble about it. But with a mystery there is somewhat else to do; it will busy all their thoughts, and set the best faculties that they have to work upon it. So I may read a history, and never wipe mine eyes for it; but to see into a mystery, I had need of clean eyes, and a clean heart, and all; for the one is but the letter, and the other is the spirit.

I ask then, what spirit is there in this letter? what mystery is there in this history of the birth of Christ? And the Apostle says there is a great mystery of piety in it.

For the better understanding whereof, we are specially to take notice of these two words that follow, *Deus* is one, and *incarnatus* is another; that is, the reconciling and the joining of God's nature and ours both together in Christ, which were so far fallen out and severed asunder before, that if it had not been for this mystery of piety, *Deus* would have been the death of *incarnatus;* that is, God would have destroyed men,

[h] Namely, the dominant puritan party in England, of whose antipathy to this festival see an interesting illustration in Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 298, also p. 263. edit. 1818.

SERM. XXII.

one and other all the world over, and no flesh had escaped the power and darkness of hell; for thus stood the case betwixt Him and us. All flesh had corrupted their ways, and *Deus* and *caro*, God's nature and ours, were two[1]. We and He had fallen foully asunder; but the fault was ours, and He was so highly offended with it, that Wrath went out from His presence and called for Justice to proceed against us. And when Justice came forth, she came in the shape and habit of that Angel that stood with a flaming sword in his hand, ready to strike and execute vengeance upon us all. Nor had there been any way but that one with us, had not His mercy been as near and as dear to Him as His justice ever was, which brought One to stand before Him That offered to give Justice all the satisfaction which she could any way demand, and so procure our peace for us. For if one might be got to do that, what could Justice require more? But all the mystery was in the person, Who was able, and Who was willing to do it; and That was Christ, in the mystery of His incarnation, which was this day made manifest to the world.

Gen. 6. 12.

[1] at enmity.

For otherwise it might never have been done; no way to satisfy Justice, but this alone.

Indeed somewhat it was that Mercy had to say for us, and this she said; What, had God made all men for nought? would He first make them all, and then destroy them all? or would He be angry with them for ever? What if they had offended Him; yet was there any offence that He might not pardon? And thereupon she appealed from the throne of His justice to the throne of His grace; for these two thrones are one above another.

Sedens in solio justitiæ; when God sits in His tribunal-seat of strict justice, it is well known which way the sentence is like to go; but *sedens in throno gratiæ,* if He might be got to remove awhile and to sit upon His throne of grace, there the style of the court might alter, and the terms of proceeding in it be far more favourable. And thither did this mystery of His piety and mercy carry Him.

Yet even thither did Justice go along with Him, and pleaded her own case still; that God must be true and just of His word, which word was now past, and past recalling. The soul that sinneth, that soul must die, die here and die

Ezek. 18. 4, 20.

eternally; Adam, and all his posterity after him; that if the judge of all the earth would do right, it might not be otherwise; all flesh was corrupted and the nature of man universally disobedient, which must therefore answer for itself. And without this, there was no reconciliation to be made, nor no satisfaction to be given to justice; which being one of God's nearest favourites, and an attribute every way as essential to Him as His mercy was, must at no hand be disregarded or suffer any wrong. Gen. 18. 25. Gen. 6. 12.

And thus stood the pleading betwixt them. In the meanwhile we stand before the judge still, and we know not what shall become of us.

But there is in one of the Psalms[1] that we said over today, a final agreement made about all this process between Justice and Mercy. And the terms are such there, that Justice itself could hold out no longer nor take any further exception against them.

For thus it was agreed, that first, truth should be made to flourish again out of the earth; that is, out of the nature and first beginning of man there should another man be made, that could do as much for all mankind to save it, as the first man of all had done to destroy it.

This is *veritas orietur de terra,* and that is nothing else but that Christ should be born upon the earth, to renew the face of it and to set all in order again.

Which no other man could do, who had all undone themselves, and put every thing that belonged to their peace and happiness hereafter clean out of all order, and out of their own power besides.

But Christ was first, the Son of God, and being of the same nature and power with Him, was able to make peace with Him for the sons of men; and for that purpose would become one of them Himself; which gave Justice half a satisfaction already; for sin and corruption had fouled our nature, and He would undertake to come and appear in it, that in His person it might be made pure and clean again. One for all, in the sight of God's own eyes.

So He That was one with God became one with us, that way might be made to bring God and man both together;

[1] Ps. 85. 11, one of the proper Psalms for Christmas morning.

SERM. XXII. as at an unity in His person, so at an union between themselves; for to bring these two together, was all this done, and so far is the mystery made manifest to us. Yet was not this all neither, for Justice proceeded on still, and required a further matter to be done before her balance could be made even.

She therefore asked if He, That would be born for us, would be likewise content to die for us too; for without Heb. 9. 22. blood and sacrifice for sin there was no remission of sin to be granted in any of God's courts whatsoever. But if He would undertake that and all, she would ask no more; nor could she say otherwise but that this would satisfy her to the full.

For as He was the Son of God from all eternity, so He would be able to do it; and as He was now made the Son of man, so He would become liable and subject to it. *Deus in carne natus*, and *Christus in morte datus*, both these together will tie up the hands of Justice, and let this mystery of piety and mercy so proceed upon us, that if it be not our own fault it will be sure to open the way of salvation for us all; that our sins may not prove our destruction, which otherwise they will certainly do and leave us in the hands of Justice, whilst Mercy stands looking on, knowing no other way in the world to help us but this alone.

For herein was both the justice and mercy of God made manifest, and both preserved in their own full integrity, extending to all that either of them could ask. When first, in that nature wherein flesh had sinned, the same flesh was to be renewed, for else the proceeding had not been just; and so came Christ the Son of man to be born. And again, in that nature which was able to do it was a full satisfaction to be given, or else it would never have been given; and so came *Deus*, the Son of God, to be born, *Deus incarnatus*; put both these together, and so have you both the mystery that is in this text, and the reason that was in this mystery; you know both what it is, and why it was, that God was this day made manifest in the flesh.

Which doth not only exalt this religion that we now profess and have for Christ, above all others that neither know His mystery, nor shall ever have any part in Him; but it confirms and settles every man's faith and conscience

in it besides; that there never was, nor never ought to be, any other way of salvation propounded to us; which, because it is the most proper and the most natural theme for this day, therefore have we chosen it and stood upon it the longer. Acts 4. 12.

They that think this day not worth the keeping, have no great opinion of a Saviour; and they that keep it, but make so little use of this mystery of piety in it as they do, will never meet with Him.

But for those bolder wits, the masters and disciples of an old forlorn heresy, though they take it to be their own new-found divinity, who say that Christ came not to satisfy God for us, but only to teach us what to do ourselves, as if any other were as able to do it as He; I put them into the mystery of iniquity, as being men of another trade, and a moral worldly religion, that this Christian piety will never own. 2Thes. 2. 7.

For when all the subtleties and inventions of men are done, there is none able to satisfy and quiet a man's conscience but the manifesting of this mystery in Christ; nor in this mystery any other point of it more than what I now preach to-day, that God hath of His mercy and piety tied up the sword of His justice and put it into Christ's hands, Who laid it to-day by Him in His cradle, and afterwards took it along with Him, and nailed it to His cross.

And it is well for us that we find it there. Meet it any where else, and we had as good meet a lion by the way.

Let every one take heed of meeting God's justice out of Christ's hands, or of meeting his own sins out of God's mysteries; even those sins that every man was born with will undo him, but those wherein he is bred and brought up, much more; unless this *magnum pietatis mysterium* may come in to help him; which is all the hope and comfort that we can give him.

And thus much for the mystery itself. The greatness of it is to follow.

III. The measure of which greatness we take from the three words here, as they stand in order, *Deus*, and *Deus manifestatus*, and *Deus manifestatus in carne*. These three.

1. First, God is in it, and He makes any thing great,

SERM. XXII.

makes the person great That was thus made manifest, above all other greatness whatsoever. And it is as clear a text this, for the greatness which we believe of Christ's person and deity, as any we have in all the Scriptures besides. So clear, that the Arians, of all other places, were posed at this; and their later, their Photinian disciples, that the new wits court, not knowing what to say against it, have made bold with St. Paul's own word, and blotted *Deus*[1] here, out of their Bibles. *Verbum caro*, they care not if they give us that, for those words they can gloss at their own pleasure; but *Deus caro* was too strong and bright a character of Christ for their eyes to look on. The truth is, they have an envious eye and are of a malignant nature against Christ, and will not suffer Him to enjoy His own greatness, nor to be what He is.

Joh. 1. 14.

In the meanwhile I will not vouchsafe them so much honour as to dispute the case with them. It is enough that this text is evident against them; and if we had no more but this, it is as much as we need to prove Christ's deity alone. And they had best let Him alone with it; for Christ, above all other things, will least part with His greatness, nor give any man leave either to lessen His title or to account meanly of His person.

And let not the scandal of His cratch to-day, or of His cross another day, offend us; there was a mystery and a majesty in them both. There was a star and a choir of Angels over the one, and there was a paradise of His own disposing over the other; which paradise is at no man's disposing, we may be sure, but at God's alone. So God He is, and God He was, the Lord of heaven and earth both, when He was at His lowest. And this makes both His person and His mystery to be great.

Mat. 2. 2. Lu. 2. 13. Lu. 23. 43.

2. But then *manifestatus in carne*. How came these two words to make it great? for Him That was God to be manifest in the flesh, and to put on so mean a clothing over His divine and eternal nature, as our human and created nature is; what greatness was there in that? Yes, the greater condescension, the greater piety; and the greater piety, the greater mystery. For this is all *mysterium pietatis*; the goodness of the person augments the mystery, and makes it

[1] See before p. 308, and Scherzer, Colleg. Anti-Socin., pp. 393, 394, 521.

still grow greater than it was. That He Who had His dwelling on high, should so much regard the lost and miserable condition of men here below, as to make their case His own, and to take that nature upon Him which He would not do for the Angels; whose condition in them that fell was as bad as ours, and their nature far better;—that He would in no wise look that way upon the nobler creature, but turn His face and offer all His favours to us, the lower extraction of the two; that when both needed it, and both stood before Him, men and Angels, Spirits and flesh, yet upon our nature He bestowed a dignity which upon theirs He did not, that is, did more for us than He did for the Angels of heaven; what greater piety could He express towards us? Besides, how great an honour our flesh itself, which, as low and mean as He found it, He made then, and will make it hereafter, far greater and more glorious than all the greatness and glory of the world can yield it; for though He took it in a low estate to-day, yet within a few days after, He had kings and princes to fall down before it; and after them He had Moses and Elias to wait upon it, when He made it shine like the sun in His brightness; and when He had done with it here on earth He carried it up with Him into His high kingdom of heaven, never left it till He had gotten it above the Angels, higher than the cherubins and the seraphins themselves; which, as it is an earnest how much He will do for ours also hereafter, so it ought to be a special motive and attractive to us all, that this mystery of His great goodness may work upon us and prove in us the mystery of our great godliness; which is the point that we reserved to be the last of all.

Heb. 2. 16. Mat. 2. 11. Mat. 17. 3.

IV. And this point is as needful for us as any of the rest, for without this, all the former points of speculation, which I set forth before in their order, will do us no good. We use indeed to hear such points the more willingly, because they take nothing from us; they were all matter of benefit, and good tidings coming together with this day to us. But our matter of duty for all this, that we may be the better for Christ's birth, as He was God here manifest in the flesh, we have not yet.

Points of speculation and benefit are otherwhiles good and

SERM. XXII. useful for us in their season, as I hope these have been now; but points of duty and practice are more behoveful for us all; and I pray God this last may find that effect among us. We have seen yesterday[k] what Christ hath done for us; let us see now another while, what we will do for Him. For our part belongs to the mystery of godliness.

To which, if this mystery of Christ, Christ's coming to us in the flesh, works not in us, the fruit of all His work is lost towards ourselves, and we keep no such feast for Him as both He and His Church truly intended it.

There is, as I began to say, in the world a great mystery of iniquity and a trade of ungodliness, which is at work all the year long; a mystery of ungodly and worldly lusts in the flesh, that are never at rest; and Christ's coming into the world was to put down that trade and set up another. For
1 Joh. 3. 8. this cause, saith St. John, did Christ appear in the flesh, that He might destroy the works of the flesh; he gives them a worse name, and calls them the works of the devil, which is the great trade and mystery of all iniquity.

But the mystery of Christ is quite another profession; teaching us so to live in the flesh that we may live to Him and bring forth the fruits of the Spirit, to live so in it that we may die to it; which then we do when we destroy and kill the unlawful deeds of it, when we live to God and die to sin. This is the mystery of godliness, and the whole scope of Christ's coming into the world.

For I demand, when He took upon Him to deliver man, as we say every day in our *Te Deum*, from what was it? and to what end was it that we were delivered? Were we delivered from the hands of justice, that we might return back to our old sins and bands of iniquity? but that were to throw us and deliver us over into the hands of justice again, where we should meet with seven evil spirits worse than the former, and render our latter estate more miserable than it was at first. This was not it. Then to what end were we delivered? Was it that we might bless ourselves for so fair an escape, and cry out against those that had brought us into our former thraldom? Or was it that we might bless the sight of the Son of God for it in His Mother's arms, and

[k] 1 Joh. 4; being the second lesson for Christmas Eve.

keep a feast of joy and honour to Him upon the day of His nativity? Surely all this, if well ordered, may well be done by us, and all upon good ground, we have reason to do it; but all this is not the end for which He came into the world to deliver us. The end was, that besides the saying of a *Benedictus* to Him, or keeping a festival for Him, we should for this deliverance serve Him all the days of our life. And how serve Him? *in sanctitate et justitia;* that is, in holiness to God, and righteousness to one another. Lu. 1. 75.

This is our trade and our mystery of godliness; we are bound apprentices to it all the years of our life, from one Christmas to another, from the font to the funeral, from our nativity to our dissolution; for the indentures are drawn, no sooner delivered but bound again presently; no sooner Christ born, but at the very same time there goes out a commandment from Him, as well as Augustus Cæsar, that all the earth should be taxed to pay Him this service. Lu. 2. 1.

Look into your *Benedictus,* which is a hymn that we are appointed to say daily at our devotions, in recognition and honour of this day's nativity; there are a sort[1] of mysteries in it, of 'visiting,' and 'redeeming,' and 'raising,' and 'saving,' and 'delivering His people;' but there is never a full stop in it till ye come to this mystery of serving Him in a godly and righteous manner of living; till we come there, all is suspended. It is the mystery of godliness that makes the conclusion.

[1] a collection

So you see how this mystery works all the way.

It is the property of a mystery, that what it works upon it makes, or intends to make, like itself. So do the sacraments; for they are mysteries, a part of this mystery of godliness; mysteries, if they work upon them that come to receive them; and if they work not, they are but mere ceremonies; something they signify, but the power and effect of them is lost. So is it in Christ's nativity; so in this mystery of piety. Great mysteries in themselves, but like to prove none to us, if they breed not the same quality in us that they carry in their own nature. If it be but a μόρφωσις, as St. Paul calls it, and an outward show of godliness, the mystery and the substance of it that should do us any good is clean vanished, and retires back again to itself. 2 Tim. 3. 5.

SERM. XXII.

God will have that manifest and real in us which was manifest and true in Him. That whether we celebrate the feast of His taking our flesh, or the feast of our taking His, they may both tend to the manifest and powerful operation of this piety in the text upon us; to lead a life that may be somewhat like to His, Whose name we bear, in all godliness and honesty.

1 Tim. 2. 2.

For when all is done, the greatest honour that we can do to this flesh of ours, which He hath now taken to Himself and made all one with His own flesh, is to keep it in such cleanness and purity as may best beseem the flesh of the Son of God; so free from soil, so washed and purged from all unhallowed employments, that at least those *manifesta opera carnis*, the vices of the flesh which are manifest and will be quickly seen with His eyes, may never appear in it before Him. There are many of them in the Apostle's catalogue, that no man may imagine he reflected upon one alone. For the proud and envious man, the uncharitable and malicious man, the unreligious and profane person, and a dozen of them more, are as fleshly there in His account, as either the intemperate or the incontinent persons be; they are all alike, the one as manifest lusters after the sins and vices of the flesh as the other, all unworthy of any Christian; specially to be so manifestly seen, so often practised, so seldom reproved, so indifferently passed by and unregarded as they are; but all alike enemies to the mystery of godliness, which we are set in this flesh of ours (for His sake Who was to-day born in that flesh) to advance, to encourage, and to magnify before them all.

Gal. 5. 19.

And in so doing we shall be advanced ourselves, flesh and all, from this great mystery of godliness, where the text begins, to the great mystery of glory, where the verse ends.

To which He bring us, That in our flesh is gone up thither before us, Jesus Christ the righteous; to Whom with His blessed Father, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons, and one eternal Deity, be all honour, and power, and praise, now and for ever. Amen.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.[a]

AT DURHAM HOUSE, 5 JAN. DIE DOMINICO, 1622-[23.]

IN VIGILIA EPIPHANIÆ.

ST. MATTHEW ii. 1, 2.

Now when Jesus was born in Bethlem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, Behold there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem.

Saying, Where is He That is born king of the Jews? for we have seen His star in the east, and are come to worship Him.

BECAUSE we love to speak *tempestivè*, I confess this text comes a day too soon, but yet we shall not break square through much in taking of it; for howsoever it be now out of use, the old[b] Church accounted so highly of the feast of our Saviour's Epiphany, as for the more honour of it they had a solemn service in their churches the day before; and all about that only. So in choosing this text to-day, a day before his proper season, we shall do no more than what hath been done before us. And I cannot see how we should have chosen better; for to have taken a text that nothing concerned the time, as some of our new brethren use to do, had been a dishonour to the feast. And to have looked for the Gospel of the day had been to lose our labour, for there is never a Gospel for it; you see the time falls out so as we are fain to go four days backward for a Gospel, and supply it with that of the Circumcision, which we used upon New Year's Lu. 2. 15-21.

[a] See p. 1. of the present volume.

[b] See Bingham, xx. 4. § 8, and Suicer. Thesaur., tom. i. p. 1201.

APPEND. I. day. Now as that Gospel brought us back to the memory of that day, so will this carry us forward to this feast, the Epiphany of our Lord, that we might be the better prepared to the celebration of it; and for this purpose I have chosen it.

And because we have chosen it for that end, it will not be amiss to say a little of the day, before we come to the text, that you may the more esteem of the greatness of it.

We are still then at the feast of Christmas, for the twelve days are not done yet which all attend upon it, but to-morrow is the last and great day of the feast, as St. John spake of another, 'In the last and great day of the feast, Jesus stood up,' &c. It has been indeed a feast of joy to us all this while, we cannot but have sense of it, but our fulness of joy comes not while[1] now; for all this while it has been *Evangelizo vobis*, tidings of joy which the Angels brought to shepherds in Jury[2] only, men hard at hand; but now upon this feast it is *omni populo*, news which the star brought to all the world, and to us too, that now salvation was come unto the Gentiles. So, to say well, to-morrow would be our true Christmas-day, that were Gentiles; for howsoever Christ was born eleven days since among the Jews, yet He came not abroad among the Gentiles till now, and so seemed unborn to them till He was this day made known and manifest to them in the persons of these wise men; which was the reason that the Catholic Church hath ever so highly accounted of this feast and made it the greatest of all the twelve, as being the chief and proper feast of the Gentiles, such as, God wot, we all were before the news of this day came. And besides the religious observation that the good Christians had of it, the emperors[c] themselves in their edicts have made it by law, for fear people's devotion should cool, to be ranked with the days of Christ's nativity and His resurrection, to be held in the same honour as these two are. So because St. John said the last day of the feast was the greatest, I did not amiss at first to call this the great and last day of our Christmas solemnity, that we now do celebrate. Last, you see it is, by the order of the Church, and great withal; for the great and

Joh. 7. 37.

[1] until

Lu. 2. 10.

[2] Judæa

Acts 28. 28.

Joh. 7. 37.

[c] The Theodosian and Justinian codes, and the laws of the Visigoths, to this effect, are quoted by Bingham, xx. 4. § 8.

wide world became the better for it, and was blessed upon it with the Day-star from on high, the glad tidings of the Gospel and of a Saviour's nativity. Nay, at this day came Christ's divinity to be known, for before now there was little talk or heed of any thing but of His humanity only, born in the flesh upon Christmas-day, and circumcised in the flesh of New-Year's-day. But upon Twelfth-day now His Godhead shewed itself from heaven; and therefore as we have had all this time to meditate upon His coming in the flesh That was God, so now the Church would have us meditate upon His being God That was come in the flesh; to turn ourselves from His humanity below to His divinity above; to behold it, not with our eyes—for His divinity cannot be seen—but by such heavenly signs as He sent unto us for that purpose, the star in the firmament. Lu. 1. 78.

For because we will be sure to make our feast to-morrow a great and a high day, higher than the rest, if this appearing first from heaven to the wise men will not do it, we have two or three more Epiphanies made upon it, of that eminency that they would make high days of themselves; for this day, saith St. Gregory Nazianzen[d], was Christ also baptized for us in Jordan, and therefore he calls his oration 'De baptismate Christi,' *Epiphania Domini,* and the Greek menologies[e] call it the day of His holy baptism; and so went the ancient service of the Church; and accordingly our second lesson at morning prayer to-morrow, where the story of His baptism is read upon purpose. So before, He was shewed as born to us upon this day, and now He is baptized also. Lu. 3. 1—23.

And so much for the day, which deserved to have somewhat said of it, that so solemn a time might not pass over our head without some special regard of it. And now I come to the text.

The first verse will be all we shall get done to-day, and here we have to consider,

(I.) A journey undertaken from east to west, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; 'there came from the east to Jerusalem.'

(II.) Next, what they were that came; no poor silly pilgrims, or persons of mean quality, but the sages, the wise

[d] S. Greg. Nyssen. Opp., tom. iii. p. 366.

[e] See Goar's Rituale Græcorum, p. 467. edit. 1647.

APPEND. I. and great men of their country. *Ecce magi venerunt*, 'There came wise men.'

(III.) Let us take in the end of their coming too; they came to enquire after Christ; and then, the suddenness of their coming; presently, as soon as He was born.

(IV.) And lastly, we may add the wonder, to them all; *Ecce*, 'Behold,' a matter worth the wondering at; for indeed they be all strange things. For take them all together, and the queen of the south, that came to see Solomon, was nothing to be admired as these kings of the east that came to see Christ, for she came to see and hear, and they to worship besides; she to see Solomon, they saying, 'Where is He that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen His star in the east, and are come to worship Him.'

1 Kings 10. 1.

We begin then with the words; and we will take them as they lay here in the text, which will bring in all the parts of the division well enough.

When He was born, then, that is the first; we shall have nothing to do but with the word 'when;' for the words that follow, 'Jesus was born in Bethlehem, in the days of Herod the king,' will fit the day of His nativity better some other time. *Cum natus*, 'then,' when Christ was come to the world, we presently read that these Gentiles came to Him; for likely as soon as ever they saw the star upon Christmas-day morning, they set out betimes, and by this day had got to Jerusalem; which makes the text once more proper for the day. For if they were this day at Jerusalem, and we this day speaking of their journey and coming thither, I hope we shall keep Solomon's rule, speak words in season. 'When' He was born, then. Before Christ was born we read of few or none that came to enquire after [Him,] specially among the Gentiles; but now He is born they come from the furthest part of the world. Before Christ came Himself, admonishing them with this star, the sinful Gentiles, God knows, had no heart to come of themselves. For as long, &c.

Prov. 15. 23.

. . . . . .

So much for the time 'when' Jesus was born. When He was born, 'Behold there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem.' 'Behold,' first, no ordinary matter, sure, but a thing, &c.

. . . . . .

'Wise men,' magi, kings. There be two or three mysteries in these words, which I would have you know; and then I have done with their persons. You see then they are great men, princes; and sinful men, magi, Gentiles; and that their coming was after the shepherds too, for they had been with Christ above ten days since. Will you know the meaning of all this? Why the Jews were near, and these afar off at the east? That is nothing. The Jews were near to God, His own people; the Gentiles, we, all strangers, &c.

. . . . . .

And now we have done with the persons, we come to their pilgrimage. They came 'from the east.' I will not trouble you, &c.

. . . . . .

'From the east.' A great way off, sure, wheresoever it was. Not from the next town, or a village hard by; but a long, from far, like the Ethiopian in the Acts, whom some think they sent afterwards, that came from the ends of the earth to worship at Jerusalem. And here the *Ecce!* the wonder, will be set up best of all. 'Behold, there came from the east.' A hard journey sure they had, says St. Chrysostom[f], for consider the particulars. It was a long, first; many an hundred miles to go, and many a weary step to take. We would have been tired betimes, and never have held out a quarter of the way to Christ, if we were to seek Him so far. Acts 8. 27.

Then, secondly, it was no comfortable way, but through sandy and desert places, as the geographers describe their way, which men have little heart to go through.

And, thirdly, it was no plain way, neither; hills and mountains, saith St. Chrysostom, all the way.

And, lastly, after all this, it was no safe way, and that was worst of all; full of wild beasts, and full of wild men too; the hills of the robbers, that David speaks on, were there; and so they are at this day, nothing but dangers by the way. Cant. 4. 8. (?)

And yet through all these difficulties they came to Christ, and made haste too; for you see they got to Him in twelve days. Now the least of these lets would keep us from coming

[f] S. Chrysost. i. 499; vii. 111. edit. Benedict.

APPEND. I. to Christ. If the ways to Him be tedious, or desolate, or dangerous, why then, no coming with us; we must have it short, and pleasant, and fair and easy; and very easy too, if we lose any thing by it; or else we will be such wise men as will keep at home. A strange thing that heathen, that dwell at the world's end, &c.

. . . . . .

APPENDIX II.[a]

If my speeches be but short upon this subject of mortality, it will be never a whit the worse; nor the worse for you, who endure no sad speeches especially to be long, nor the unfitter for me, to whom neither this object nor this subject, if it might have been otherwise, can be very pleasing.

But since a necessity is laid upon me, as St. Paul said in another case, I have left my passion and nearer relations at home, and I am come hither to do the last office I shall ever perform to my own[b] loving and dear sister on earth, now, I doubt not, a glorious saint in heaven. 1 Cor. 9. 16.

Nor was this of old out of fashion, though my relations were yet nearer than they are; somewhat unusual they were, but St. Austin[c] did as much for his mother, and St. Gregory Nazianzen[d] for his own father; and who knows not that amongst the Romans the next of kin did *pro rostris laudare*, praise the deceased[e]?

And yet I come not so much to praise as to preach; not so much to commend her as to commend unto you the meditation of her life and death, and the contemplation of a better life, for which she hath now exchanged that which she

[a] It would appear that the sermon preached by Cosin upon the funeral of Mrs. Dorothy Holmes (printed p. 24.) had suggested the leading idea of the present fragment, which appears to have been used upon an occasion somewhat similar. It is without date, but judging from the style of the handwriting it was probably preached somewhere between the years 1630 and 1635.

[b] These words must not be taken in this literal signification, as will appear from what is afterwards mentioned concerning the family of the deceased.

[c] S. Augustini Opp., i. 123. edit. fol. Ant. 1700.

[d] Orat. xix. Opp., i. 286. edit. fol. Paris., 1630. See other instances noticed by Bingham, xxiii. 3. § 10.

[e] See P. Morestelli Pompa Feralis, sive Justa Funebria Veterum, ap. Græv. Thesaur. Antiqq. Rom. tom. xii. p. 1405.

APPEND. II. had here among us. And therefore I shall entreat your attention to the words of the Apostle [f],

. . . . . .

We are come hither to perform a double duty to our dear sister departed; one, to commit her body to the ground, there to be laid up with honour, as in a bed of rest and peace, until it shall be awaked up again to glory; another to commend her good name and memory to the world, which, like a box of precious ointment shed among us all, hath left so sweet a perfume behind it that our houses are filled with the odour of it; and though she be dead, yet shall she thus live with us still, and be had in remembrance of us all.

Ps. 49. 10. There are indeed, who die and perish altogether, as the Psalmist speaks, that have left nothing behind them which is worth the remembering, and therefore are clean forgotten and gone out of mind as soon almost as they are gone out of the world. But others there be, saith the Preacher, who

Eccl. 7. 1. have been well reported of in their times, and have left a name behind them that ought not to be forgotten; and such examples of Christianity and piety, that they ought to be

Ps. 112. 6. had in continual remembrance. In which number I reckon this our dear sister (here before us,) and saint deceased.

Concerning whom, therefore, ye shall give me your good

Mark 14. 3. leave to break her box of spikenard among you, to fill this place with some part of that sweet perfume which she hath left behind her.

Wherein, because as Phavorinus once said, *Facit male qui laudat frigide* [g], 'he does not well that commends one coldly,' truly I would as gladly, as I might very justly, enlarge myself in this theme of setting forth her virtue and goodness.

But straightened as I am, I must of force straighten my speech of her also, and give you what I have to say in few words.

And a few words will suffice for her, of whom if we would endeavour any long panegyric, any of you might stop me as the philosopher did him that went about with many words to

[f] No text is given in the manuscript, but from some expressions which are employed it probably was 2 Cor. v. 1, 2: 'For we know that if our earthly house,' &c.

[g] Turpius esse dicebat Favorinus philosophus, exigue atque frigide laudari, quam insectanter et graviter vituperari. Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. xix. 3. p. 837. edit. Lug. Bat. 1706.

commend one of whom the world had never spoken but well, *Quis illam unquam vituperavit?* 'who ever discommended her,' or can say she did wilfully wrong to any? Her virtues and Christian demeanour had the love of all, and her loss hath now the grief of many, though this grief be unseasonable, in regard of the great happiness wherewith she is now, no doubt, blessed for ever.

Look then on yonder tabernacle now taken down and put into a coffin; look upon yon clasped book of mortality, and read there; let it, like Philip's morning[h] remembrance, tell you of the vain confidence of your present health, your young and vigorous days, your sound and able constitutions of body. See how soon the tent is taken down; and therein let us all see how vain a thing we trust to, how weak a reed we lean on, when we trust and lean upon this crazy life.

This last week that dead corpse visited the sick; then was she in perfect health, and yet, behold, now gone before them.

I name the suddenness of her departure, first, because it most affected us concerning herself; and I wish it might most instruct us concerning our own selves, that each hour may be spent on the thoughts of our end, and that we may at all hours be ready, as she was, for Him That calls us away.

For let no rash censure hence disparage her Christian preparation for death, because she wanted those long and lingering summons which many others use to have. For her whole life was, as ours should be, no great thoughts of this world, but a constant expectation and preparation for a better.

For her descent and parentage, if that may be any addition to her praise, (though I confess that he that boasts of his birth brags of that which is none of his own,) yet a blessing of God it is when it is more eminent than others.

And parents she had both eminent and honourable; her father a bishop[i], her mother of good race and gentry. She was the daughter of a prophet, him that lately sat here in this episcopal throne: and that was ever accounted honour-

[h] Apparently an allusion to the attendant who daily addressed the monarch with these words—'Remember that thou art mortal.'

[i] As Cosin has not informed us where this sermon was preached, we are unable to avail ourselves of the clue afforded by these words.

APPEND. II. Lu. 1. 5.

able, saith Sidonius Apollinaris, in his praise of Simplicius, and vouches it by Scripture; telling us that St. Luke, when he entered upon the praise of St. John Baptist, held him the more honourable for that he was descended of the priests' race. *Et nobilitatem vitæ prædicaturus, prius tamen extulit familiæ dignitatem;* 'being to praise the nobleness of his life, he did first set forth the worthiness of his line[k].'

But of this gentlewoman, our dear sister, I may say, as St. Jerome[l] did of Paula, the holy Roman lady, she was *nobilis genere, sed nobilior sanctitate,* 'noble in race and parentage, more noble in grace and holiness.'

Truly her good life, and not her birth, had it been more great than it was, made her truly considerable. And herein detraction itself dares not deny her her due.

For her virtuous and pious disposition, which I will commend in her and commend to you, this I may say, that her
Mat. 25. 4. care and study was like that of the wise virgins, ever to keep the oil of piety burning in the lamp of her soul. The oracles of God were as ornaments to her ears, and the attendance of His service, with the performance of many other Christian duties, were as bracelets to her hands, and in more esteem with her than all other vanities of the world.

From whence ye may gather what her education was, that religious it was and virtuous, tending to all things that might produce in her the effects and works of a godly, righteous and sober life; which is the sum of all Christian religion.

Her disposition, how sweet and gentle it was, her demeanour, how modest and affable, her words and deeds, how fair and inoffensive they were, I need not say; they that knew her well and conversed with her, will ever say it for me.

Let this be one note of her more than ordinary goodness. Her mother, though a grave and severe gentlewoman in the education of her children, hath often professed that she could never take her so much as with an oath or a false relation of any thing, or any other gross fault of cursing, self-will, or stubbornness, in all her life.

She was first, a virgin full of modesty and constancy; afterwards a wife, tender, loving, and obedient to her hus-

[k] See Gallandii Bibl. Patr., tom. x. p. 525.

[l] S. Hieron. Ep. xxvii. inter Opp., tom. i. p. 72. edit. Ant. 1578.

band; so careful for him that to shew her daily regard towards him, she was careless either of her own will, or ease, or pleasure in any thing; which we have, as of our own observation of her while she was alive, so from the free and voluntary confession of him, both before and since her death. One that never was heard to have given any unkind or disrespectful word in all her days; and continued her love and regard to him, even in her latest sickness, to the last. Neither did her love to him make her forgetful of a greater and far higher love, her holy regard that she ought to God.

So sudden and violent a sickness as befel her would have driven many of us to impatience; yet from the first to the last she was not heard to utter any word which might any ways misbeseem the humility and patience of a good and well-grounded Christian.

In the very extremity of her disease she would always freely resign herself to the pleasure of Almighty God, and heartily invoke the comfort of our Saviour Christ Jesus. When they came and prayed God to strengthen her, her answer was, 'Yea, strengthen her faith,' (whereof she had more care,) 'if not her body,' whereof she had less.

And to give you a testimony of this care of her soul; being desired by her husband, at the beginning of her sickness, to remove into a warmer room and to change it for a better, her reply was all holy and heavenly, with prayer that God would grant her patience, and that then she should expect a better change, when God should remove her into His own chamber, this house here and building of God, not made with hands, 2 Cor. 5. 1. but eternal in the heavens; and should change her vile body and make it like to His glorious body for ever. Phil. 3. 21.

And after her speech failed her, yet did she understand and perfectly hear, and most willingly join with them that used prayers and devotions for her. In which words of piety and devotion, presently after her desire of absolution, moving her dying lips and lifting up her half-dead hands in prayer, as Paulinus[m] writes of St. Ambrose, she died most quietly, and departed out of the world in great peace both of body and soul.

[m] Vita S. Ambrosii a Paulino conscripta, § 47. inter Opp. S. Ambros. ii. par. ii. col. xij. edit. Bened.

APPEND. II.

[n]And yet, as St. Ambrose himself said of another, *non obiit sed abiit*, she is not dead, but gone away only before us to a better abiding than any here is in this vale of tears below; or as Nazianzen[o], of a like saint, 'This was the manner of her laying down this her earthly tabernacle, or to speak more properly, of the assumption of her blessed soul into heaven;' where, as in Abraham's bosom, we will leave her in peace, resting with Christ, as we verily trust, in eternal glory.

To which, &c.

[n] S. Ambros. de Obit. Valent. inter Opp., tom. ii. 186. edit. Bened.

[o] S. Greg. Nazianz. in laudem Gorgoniæ, inter Opp., tom. i. p. 120. edit. 1630.

APPENDIX III.

BRANCEPATH.

DOMINICA SECUNDA POST TRINITATEM. 1628.

ST. LUKE xiv. 16—20.

A certain man made a great supper, and bade many;
And sent his servant at supper time to say to them that were bidden, Come; for all things are now ready.
But they all at once began to make excuse. The first said, I have bought a farm, and I must needs go see it; I pray thee have me excused.
Another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them; I pray thee have me excused.
And another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come, &c.

I SHALL open my mouth here to-day in a parable, but I shall speak no hard sentences of old. For though there be parables that are *obscuri sensûs*, hard to be understood, yet this is none of them. An easy and a familiar similitude it is; which every one will be ready to conceive that knows what a great supper, or a great farm is, or that can skill of five yoke of oxen, and tell of a sixth, which is a married wife. Ps. 78. 2.

To such low comparisons doth Christ otherwhiles descend, that the knowledge of His kingdom, being hidden from the wise and prudent, who think too basely of it, might be revealed to the ignorant and babes, even in their own terms and language. For them of the country here, he compares it to husbandry; for them of the city elsewhere, to merchan- Lu. 10. 21.
[illegible]; for sea-faring men, to fishing; for way-faring men, to [illegible]. Mat. 13. 45. Mat. 4. 19. Is. 35. 8.

APPEND. III.

a voyage; and because there be some which never come abroad, they shall know it by their leaven which they keep at home; every one by that which suits their disposition and apprehension best: and all these for our readier and often applying of these sensible and outward things to those inward and heavenly matters, which neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard; that having the *πρόθεσις* of the similitude, as farms here, and oxen, before our eyes, we might of ourselves make the *ἀπόδοσις*, and preach more sermons by far with ease than we can possibly hear with pain.

Mat. 13. 33.

1 Cor. 2. 9.

Otherwhiles some men are wont to complain of obscurity and hardness to understand our Gospel, here they shall have no cause to do it; of keeping house and making a feast, of bidding guests and making excuses, who hath not heard? Ye shall now hear of them again. And by these similitudes ye shall learn both to conceive what that heavenly feast is, which God hath made for you in the kingdom of grace here, and prepared for you in the kingdom of glory hereafter; as also to consider what an unthankful wretchedness it is, to let farms, or oxen, or wives, or whatsoever else you use to leave, call you back from it, when you are hereunto so often invited.

APPENDIX IV.

PSALM CXXII. 6.

Rogate pacem . . .

Pray for the peace of Jerusalem, they shall prosper that love it.

THE text is as the day is, tending both to religion and peace; the day a public acknowledgment and thanksgiving[a], and the text a public desire for the establishment of a religious peace and quietness in our Jerusalem, both in Church and commonwealth. See p. 106.

And as there is no greater blessing to a state than to enjoy that peace, so is there not any means more available to procure it, nor any more effectual to preserve it, than what this text here prescribes us, *rogare pacem*, to come out and pray for it; as the provident piety and wisdom of the state hath at this time appointed us; thanksgiving and prayer.

There is in the text a precept and a promise. A precept for prayer, and a promise for prosperity; it will be the precept only that I shall treat on to-day. And because it is a day of thanksgiving, therefore have I chosen a precept out of a psalm, which makes it to be *præceptum cantabile*, the better for that; a precept that may be sung, and a commandment that may be performed with cheerfulness and delight.

And let it not trouble any man that I call it a precept; for though it may seem to run in terms of wishing and advice only, as we read it in our Psalter, yet are we to make account that the Holy Ghost adviseth and wisheth nothing

[a] It is probable that the sermon, of which this is a fragment, was preached either upon the peace with France, June 10, 1629, (Rushworth, ii. 23, 44; Echard, ii. 88; Rymer, xix. 87,) or that with Spain, December 5, 1630, (Rushw., ii. 75,) but the editor has met with no evidence to shew that a thanksgiving was appointed upon either of these occasions.

APPEND. IV. here but that which carries the nature of an edict and an injunction along with it; for ever in His optative there will be found an imperative, not to fail, if either we have any will or any affection that come to hear it.

In this precept then there are these things considerable.

(1.) The Church and the state first; both set forth under the title of Jerusalem.

(2.) The religious care and love that is to be extended to either; expressed in the word *rogate*.

(3.) And thirdly, the felicity and happiness of them both; which is comprehended under the title and blessings of peace.

All which will fall out to be the heads of our present discourse. But now before I speak any further I shall desire you to help me with your prayers unto Almighty God for the assistance of His Holy Spirit, &c.

(I.) We begin with Jerusalem; which, as it is described here at the second verse, gives us our *opus diei in die suo*; being a city or a kingdom that is at unity in itself, and at peace with other cities and kingdoms abroad; as our Jerusalem now is.

Prov. 15. 23.

This Jerusalem is the subject upon which we are to work, and the body for which the Holy Ghost would have every man to be careful. Jerusalem, wherever we find it, (and theirs was but a shadow of ours,) is a body that consists of two parts; and those two parts be the Church and the kingdom; the Church at the first verse, called the house of the Lord, and the kingdom at the fifth, called the house of king David: and both these houses stood joined together.

So that Jerusalem stands not here for the city and the state alone, nor for the temple and the Church alone, but for both together united in one body; either of them will make up but one Jerusalem.

Where, at the first we see (and it is a good sight to see), God's house and the king's, the Church and the state, in a near conjunction. A happy conjunction when these two are met together in Jerusalem; in Jerusalem or in any city, in any place or kingdom besides.

To these thus joined together by God, what is our duty?

First, as we find them close joined to our hands, so to keep **them.** *Homo ne separet;* not to sever them at any hand, for Mat. 19. 6. **they** are like twins; the happiness and life of the one **depends** upon the happiness and life of the other; they will **grow** and fade, they will live and die together. Then *homo* ***ne solvat,*** not to make the knot of amity and peace between **them** more slack or loose than it is here in the Psalm, where **they** are united and woven up together so close, that as the **kingdom** and the house of David shall be ready to serve the **house** of God and to seek the prosperity of His Church, so **shall** God be ready to enlarge the prosperity of the kingdom; and *propter domum Domini,* (as it is in the last verse,) even **for** the Church's sake, He will do the kingdom and the commonwealth good.

Therefore look to this well, not to sever them ourselves, and not to endure them that are tampering about it. Not with the papist, that would pull down God's house which is amongst us, and set up their own; not with the Anabaptist, that would pull down king David's house clean, no king nor kingdom in Israel, they, but every one a king in his own cottage; not the libertine and atheist, that would pull down all, and leave us neither God's house nor the king's, neither any religion in the Church, nor any government in the state, so every man must do what seems good in his own eyes.

But set this down for a rule, that as we are members of both, so we are to be careful to preserve both, and to join together for the good and prosperity of them both.

And set this down withal, that there is no surer friend, no surer stay to a kingdom, than to be careful of religion; and as on the one side that it is a sure sign of a good religion, if it will join to uphold the state of the kingdom, so on the other side it is an infallible note of a bad one, if it shrinks up the sinews of civil obedience[b].

Yet a sort of men there be with whom Jerusalem is not as it would be. Some that are so zealous for the state and the commonwealth of the kingdom, that religion is quite set aside, and the commonwealth of the Church clean forgotten among them; and other some so zealous for the Church . .

And an evil use it is that has possessed the world, when

[b] The following passage is marked for omission.

APPEND. IV. commonly we cannot affect one part of Jerusalem but we must presently fall either to despise or neglect the other; raise the price of one virtue, and cry down all the rest to nothing. Wherein two sorts of men are most faulty; zealots both, and both disturbers of our peace. They that are all for the temporal, the house of David, to swallow up the house of God; and they that are all for the spiritual, *domus Domini*, the house of the Lord, to take up all the room, and to justle out the house of David; as if there could be no affection shewn to the one, unless there be some stratagem to destroy or disgrace the other. But so hard a matter it is, and ever
Ps. 122. 3. was, to keep Jerusalem at unity within itself, or for stirring and hot humours to hold a mean. For in the one of these there is a false religion, and in the other there is none at all. Our care then to be that either be preserved in his right. God hath coupled them here; and since God hath coupled
Mat. 19. 6. them, let no man put them asunder.

The sum is, that to be careful for God's house and the Church is to be a good Christian; to be careful for the king's house and the state is to be a good subject; and both these are in God's eyes most acceptable. Yea, and it will ever likewise be found true, the better Christian the better subject; and the more religious towards God and His house, the more obedient towards the king and his laws . . .

APPENDIX V.[a]

ST. MATTHEW xiii. 27, 28.

So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? From whence then hath it those tares?
He saith unto them, The envious man hath done this.

THIS is that which we call the parable of the tares. The text does neither begin nor end it; it is but a little part of it; yet as little as it is, it brings into it the substance of all that which went before it, that we may be sure we shall have matter enough to hold us discourse for that little while that I am to hold you here. For the latter part of the parable, which is about the cleansing of the field, we think that may deserve an entire discourse by itself; so we will let that alone. But for the former part, which is about the sowing in of the good seed, and the growing up of the bad tares, that we have all here in the text to be despatched now.

There are three verses of the parable that go before the text, and they are all to be found in it; the last of them is fetched in by the first word of this; 'so,' or, 'then the servants came.' 'Then,' they came? When? Why when the blade was sprung up and the tares appeared, then the servants came.

There is one verse that we must necessarily have a reflection upon, not to discourse of it amply, but only to give a touch at it, as it touches the text. Then for the first verse,

[a] This and the two following fragments of sermons upon the same text are so disarranged, apparently by the binder of the MS. volume, that the editor is by no means sure that the arrangement which he has here adopted is the most accurate.

APPEND. V.

the man that sowed good seed in His field; that is here again in so many words, 'Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field?' And lastly, for the second, the enemy that came and sowed tares and went his way; that is here too in the words that follow, 'These tares, the envious man has sowed them.' So by keeping of ourselves to this part of the parable, we shall have the advantage; and by these two verses, despatch the three that went before them.

And now we have them in, you shall see we will go out no more, nor meddle with them more than needs must, but keep our meditations close to the words of the text itself, which brings these other in; not as men use to have incoherences for want of matter, but it has a natural reference to them, whether we would or no.

The words that I have read, then, are a conference or a consultation betwixt the householder and his servants, that is, God and man, that we may make no more ado about that; and the consultation is about the tares that were seen to spring up in a good field; what should be the cause of them, or how they should come there. And so for the parts of it, we have thus many.

To begin withal; we have first their confession on God's behalf.

Before we can go on, the first word stays us to take in the verse that goes before, or the connexion of them together; so for

. . . . . .

And in the resolution of it, though men of our day cannot agree, yet it were to be wished some of them had a little of that modesty which the servants had here; who by no means would be brought to lay any fault upon God, but take it for certain that He is the sower of none but good seed, and then we should have no pious ears offended with these harsh consultations; that the sin of Adam was *per occultum Dei decretum*, and that without His decree, no detestable or evil thing is done; and that it was necessary that men should sin; that *Deus habuit opus peccatore*, had need of sin, as being not able otherwise to come to His ends that He aimed at; with other such strange doctrine, that our new masters have of late fished out of the lake, where at the bottom cer-

tainly lay some Manichee[b] or other that taught it them, who yet nevertheless were ashamed to put it upon God Himself, as if He were the author of any evil, That had sowed good seed: and therefore they made another god for it, a black god besides their white one, as you have heard of black and white devils. This is that opinion which St. Augustine[c] being infected withal at first nine whole years, as himself confesses, did afterwards abhor so much; which I tell you, that we might abhor it as much as he; though some would make him come somewhat nearer it still, when he writes in his heat against Pelagius. I will not stand to dispute it, it is all to maintain their absolute reprobation, which certainly will never be defended unless this text and the whole Scripture be erased, and God made the cause of these tares.

. . . . . .

That is the nature of an envious man, he can endure to see no man's field prosper; as long as it lies fallow, he is content withal, but if God once ploughs up the fallow ground of our hearts, and sows good seed in them, then in comes he with his tares too; and if God prepares us with His grace, he will spoil us with his baits; and the more bountiful that our God is towards us, the more envious ever is he. So there was but one unclean spirit in the man at first, but when he was cleansed and his house made clean and garnished, then for very spite he comes again himself, and seven other with him worse than he. This is because, as the text saith, he is an envious man, that you may know he has not his name for nought. Mat. 12. 44, 45. Lu. 11. 2(

. . . . . .

Now the text is done; but if I should leave off here, we that are men should go too freely away. For is the devil in all the fault, an we say, to keep us to the text, he did it the more enviously, because he did it when we were asleep; for else perhaps we might have been too ware of him.

. . . . . .

I mean tares of doctrine, as well as tares of life and

[b] See Heylyn's Quinquarticular History of the Western Churches, chap. i. § 3. Tracts, p. 506. edit. 1681.

[c] See the Life of St. Augustine contained in the eleventh volume of the Benedictine edition of his works, lib. i. cap. 6. § 4.

APPEND. V.

manners. And though the Church of Rome would fain make us believe that she cannot err, that the devil has no power over her to sow tares there, and that the pope is such a watchful vigilant man as he can never be overtaken with any error; yet see the luck of it, they have eight several times confessed in their synod of Trent that *hominum incuria* and *temporum injuria*[d], just as it is here. While men were sleepy and negligent, many abuses and tares have crept into their masses, and images, and indulgences.

. . . . . .

Now then for a conclusion of all; since we have found out the cause of all these tares and evil in the world, if we would not be troubled with it we must remove the cause from whence it comes, we must not think so much of the tares as we must see the cause of them; for if we go to remove an evil and remove not the cause of it, we shall go the wrong way to work; as they use to say in physic, If ye remove not the cause of a disease, but apply medicines to the part affected only, well may you have ease for a while, but when it comes again the sickness will be far worse than it was before. And if we go about to remove the cause, we must be sure to take the true one; for if we take one for another, run to God when it is the devil, or say as Adam did, It is the woman that made me do it, when it was himself; as they say again, we may make up one breach, and fall into a worse, heal a fever with cramp. So then, since we know what the true cause is of all the evil that is in the world, the envy of the devil, and the negligence of our ownselves, these are the two things that we must take away. Nay we shall not be put to so much, let us but take away one, and the other will tarry away of itself. It is our saving *caveat* that He gives us to watch, for then the thief will not come; the devil knows it well that he can do but little good with us if we will but keep ourselves but waking, and how is that, but by continual employment of ourselves about God's service, to be instant at prayer, to be devoted to His sanctuary, to be given to all good works; this is to keep our eyes open; for if these things be not done of us, why then our souls are lulled asleep

Gen. 3. 12.

Mat. 24. 42, &c.

[d] Sess. xxi. De commun. sub utraque specie, cap. i.; Sess. xxiv. Doctrina de Sacramento Matrimonii, etc. Binii Conc., tom. ix. p. 399, 411.

by the charms of the flesh and the vanities of the world, and so the devil breaks in upon [us]; and as the priests would have the soldiers say, steals Christ away from us while we are asleep; and when Christ is gone, we lay still, and let him sow what tares in our hearts he lists. And we had need take the better heed of it; for though he does it out of envy, yet he does it subtilly: as long as he has us in a sleep, he can make us dream that there is no such matter, but that he does all out of good will to us; make Paul think he does God good service, when he makes havoc of Christians' blood; and the people think they are very zealous for the law, when they cry to have Christ crucified; and though he be the prince of darkness, yet for the time he is an angel of light; come to us with a psalter in his hand and tell us we may venture a fall of the pinnacle, it would do us no hurt at all, the cherubin would hover under us with their wings; and so bring us to avarice, and make us believe and dream of nothing but providence; and to pride, while we dream of nothing but honest dignities. What, he envious? No, he is acquainted with Jesus and Paul too; here is no enmity betwixt them, and so far from envy to us, that if we be restrained by God, yet he would not grudge us the best fruit in the garden. And thus with his subtilties, if we be not watchful and aware of him, he overthrows and spoils all the good that God has formerly bestowed upon us; and therefore if ever, certainly it is now time to awake, we that sleep, and to stand up against these assaults of the devil. If we will fold our arms and embrace the pleasures of the world, and sleep on, no marvel though our field be grown full of thorns, says Solomon; if the mariners be asleep the vessel will quickly suffer shipwreck; and if the watchmen wake not, the city is soon taken. 'Watch therefore, that ye enter not into temptation.' And that God, to Whom we pray every day that we may not be led into it, keep us from all spiritual drowsiness; that when the devil comes he may find us waking and go his ways, and when Christ comes He may find us watchers for Him, and take us with Him out of His own field, into everlasting tabernacles. To which He, &c.

Mat. 28. 13.

Acts 26. 9.

Acts 8. 3.

2 Cor. 11. 14.

Mat. 4. 6.

Acts19.15.

Gen. 3. 4.

Prov. 24. 31.

Mat. 26. 31.

APPENDIX VI.

PARIS, EVANGELIUM DOMINICÆ QUINTÆ POST EPIPHANIAM, 1651.

ST. MATTHEW xiii. 24.

Simile est regnum cœlorum homini seminanti in agro, &c.

The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that sowed good seed in his field:
But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way.
But when the blade was sprung up, and had brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also.
So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares?
He said unto them, The envious man hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and weed them up?
But he said, Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them.
Let both grow together till the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye first the tares, and bind them together in bundles to be burnt; but gather the wheat into my barn.

APPEND. VI.

WHICH parable Christ Himself hath explained for us in the thirty-seventh verse.

He that sowed the good seed is the Son of Man; the field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom, but the tares are the children of the wicked one; the enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the Angels. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

This is the last Sunday after the Epiphany, and this the last Gospel of them all; being so ordered by the Church, because it is the last Epiphany, that is, the last manifestation, that Christ will make of Himself to the world, when at the end of it He will come to His harvest, and bring His reapers with Him.

It is a parable that runs all upon a similitude between the estate or condition of Christ's Church, and the sowing or growing of a field.

For by the kingdom of heaven here, both in this place, and through this whole chapter, there can be nothing else understood but His Church in all ages. I will give you the reasons for it by and by.

But I shall first set forth the parts of this parable, and tell you in what order and method I will proceed with them all.

Three general branches there be in it, which extend and dilate themselves into many other particulars.

(1.) The field first, which is the world, and the resemblance of Christ's kingdom here, which is the Church; sowed both with good seed and over-sowed with bad. A Church that hath both wheat and tares spread in it. That will take up two verses.

(2.) Then the discovery of these tares, and the discerning of them, after they were grown up, from the wheat itself; that will take up another.

(3.) And thirdly, the consultation here had about them, between the servants and the master of the field, both how those tares came in, and how they should be gotten out; and this takes up all the rest.

It will be all we can do to-day to view the first of these three, wherein, after we have taken notice of the Church, how it is here called, and how compared, we shall have no less than six points to consider in Him that sowed the good seed there; and as many in him that sowed the bad.

In the first the sower; and second, his sowing; third, the seed; fourth, His good seed; fifth, the field; and sixth, His own field; these six in the former.

II. In the second, then the enemy; and second, his sowing; third, the tares, which are his own; and fourth, the ground, which is none of his own; fifth, the time that he takes to

APPEND. VI.

come, when men are asleep; and sixth, the haste he makes to be gone as soon as ever he has done the mischief. These six in the latter.

Upon all which, as likewise upon all the rest that are to follow hereafter, that we may the better attend them and make a religious and spiritual use of them, Christ hath here set His *epiphonema*, and charged us to give good ear to them. 'Let him that heareth hear.'

And that we may both hear and speak of these worthily, as we ought to do, to the honour of Almighty God, the preservation and advancement of His true and uncorrupted religion among us, let us beseech Him to assist us with His grace and heavenly benediction, &c.

Our Father, &c.

. . . . . .

And lastly, this field is His own; His own by inheritance,
Heb. 1. 2. for He is the heir of the world. And His own by purchase,
Rev. 5. 9. for He redeemed the world; He bought it when it was sold, and paid dearly for it; which gives Him His sole right in it, and allows no other, either any power to dispose of it to whom they think fit, or any liberty to order it and sow it with what grain they please, that never came from Him.

II. And so I come to the second part, to him that came into this field after Him, and there sowed the tares.

Who is first called here the enemy, and afterwards said to be the devil, and such as he sets to work under him.

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APPENDIX VII.

PARIS, JUNE 11, 1651.

DOMINICA PRIMA POST TRINITATEM.

ST. MATTHEW xiii. 24, 25.

Simile est regnum cœlorum homini seminanti in agro, &c.

The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that sowed good seed in his field.

But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way.

HERE is a parable propounded, which is afterwards explained by Christ Himself to be intended of His Church; the state and condition whereof, as it is now at this present, besides the beginning and the progress, and the ending of it, as it hath been heretofore, and as it shall be in time to come, are all set forth to us under their several similitudes. And first, it is compared to a field; a field as large as the world, sowed by Him with good seed, and by His enemy over-sowed with bad. In either of which we have no less than six points to be considered; six in Him, and as many in His enemy.

These six in the former; (1.) the sower, (2.) and the sowing, (3.) the seed, and (4.) the good seed, (5.) the field, and (6.) His own field; 'Who sowed good seed in His field.'

And these six in the latter; (1.) the sower, (2.) and the sowing again, (3.) the tares, which are his own, (4.) and the ground, which is none of his own, (5.) the time that he takes to come, (6.) and the haste that he makes to be gone; 'Who came while men slept, and sowed his tares among the wheat, and presently went his way.'

This is but the beginning of the parable, it may be we shall go through with the rest of it hereafter, till we come to

APPEND. VII. Christ's *epiphonema* and charge set upon it at the end of all, 'He that hath ears to hear it, let him hear it.'

And that we may both hear and speak of it to the honour of Almighty God and the preservation of His true religion amongst us, &c. &c.

'The kingdom of heaven.' Here we stay first, that we may see before us.

For by the kingdom of heaven here, is not meant the kingdom of glory, that we are to live in hereafter; but the kingdom of grace, that we live in now; which is the true and the visible Church of Christ here upon the earth.

And yet it is called the kingdom of heaven, this, in these several respects. First, because it is always opposed and set against the kingdom of sin, that that may not reign over us, nor set up a throne in our hearts. There is a heaven upon earth, when we are once got out and set free from the tyranny and dominion of sin.

(2.) Because the devil taketh upon him to be a king, and hath prevailed so far upon the sons and daughters of men, that the greatest part of the world is subdued unto him. In
Joh. 14. 30. which regard our Saviour calls him the prince of this world,
2 Cor. 4. 4. and the Apostle, the god of this world. Against this kingdom of the devil God sets up another here of His own, which He calls His Church, and the kingdom of His Son, Whom He sent from heaven with a sceptre in His hand; 'I have set
Ps. 2. 6. My King upon My holy hill of Sion;' 'the sceptre of His
Ps. 45. 6. kingdom is a right sceptre.' That sceptre is His word, held forth to us in the Scriptures; and they that are out there, are out of His protection, what patronage soever they may find besides.

For (3.) He that sits upon His throne in heaven is the Head of that Church, and rules over it by His own laws; by exercising His power and His wisdom, His justice and His mercy, upon it all the world over. There is no other head nor ruler over it, but He.

(4.) Fourthly, because the riches and plenty of this kingdom consist all in heavenly and spiritual provisions; in the knowledge of God's sacred and heavenly truth, in repentance, and amendment of our sinful and earthly life, in faith un-

feigned, in righteousness and holiness, in love and joy, and peace in the Holy Ghost. Other provisions then there be, that come from the revenues and splendours of the world; they belong not to the true being and essentials of any Church or any Christian whatsoever.

(5.) Fifthly, because that through this kingdom of grace is the way and the passage laid open to heaven itself; there will be no getting thither any other way.

And lastly, though it be no present fruition, yet it is a future expectation of that kingdom in heaven; it is *porta cœli*, as Jacob calls it, the gate of heaven, and the porch of the house; though it be not the house itself, we are sure of our entry by it; or it is *appropinquatio regni*, as Christ Himself calls it, the marches and borders of that kingdom it is. We are entered so far towards it, though we be not in heaven itself, and thither it will surely bring us. Gen. 28. 17.

So that in reference to this appellation, we are not to attend so much what this kingdom appears to be now, as what it will be when Christ shall appear hereafter, to translate them that have lived well in His kingdom of grace here, to His kingdom of glory there.

And it is a great comfort to us this, that our Saviour thus mingles His kingdoms; that He makes the kingdom of grace and the kingdom of glory all one, the Church and heaven itself all one; assuring us, that if we see Him as He looks in *hoc speculo*, in this His glass, as St. Paul terms it, the glass of His ordinances and statutes in this kingdom of His word and sacraments, we have already begun to see Him as He looks in heaven, and as He is in His majesty in that kingdom of eternal glory. 1 Cor. 13. 12.

II. Pass we then the appellation and come to the comparison. This kingdom of heaven is compared here to a field that is sown. Where we will make first, in general, that Christ in His comparisons pursues His own way, and does here as He does often in other places. He speaks in such forms and such similitudes as may most work upon them to whom He speaks, that thereby all men might have the word of His kingdom every one in His own terms.

Of king David, who was a shepherd before, God says to him, that He took him away from the sheep-folds to feed Ps. 78. 71.

APPEND. VII.

His people, and he fed them with a faithful and true heart, and ruled them prudently with all his power. To those magi, the wise and learned men of the east, who were given
Mat. 2. 2. to the knowledge and study of the stars, Christ gave them a star to be their guide to Him at Bethlehem; a guide apt and proper for them that were learned that way; their learning did them no hurt, nor set them ever a whit the further off from coming to Christ, and learning Him with it.
Mark 1. 16, 19. To those that were fishing in the waters, St. Peter, St. Andrew, St. James, and St. John, He found them all at that employment, and presently applied it; told them, if they would follow Him, He would make them fishers of men. To them that followed Him to Capernaum for bread, He
Joh. 6. 27. took occasion by it to bid them look after the bread and
Joh. 4. 10. spiritual food of their souls. To the Samaritan, whom He found at the well, He preached of the water and the well of life. To the multitudes that stood here upon the land and saw the fields before them, He presents them with a similitude of the same nature with what they had then in their eye, and preaches the kingdom of heaven to them by a parable taken from the earth. And it was a parable taken up and uttered by Him in due season too, for at this very time, when He was here preaching to them, which fell out to be at the same time of the year [a] and in the same month, as Eusebius reckons it, wherein I am now preaching to you, it was at Palestine the second seed time, when the sower went out to sow. It was ever with Christ best preaching upon a text when the commentary stood before His auditory; that they might have the easier apprehension of His doctrine, and be the more ready to apply it, make both a corporal and a spiritual use of what they saw and heard both together.

So Christ applies Himself to all, and puts no man out of his way to go to heaven; but by what every man is given to by his own employment, preaches heaven to him and calls him thither, makes heaven all things to all men, that He might gain some. If they love joy, to present it in that notion; if they be ambitious of glory, to set it forth that way; to the merchant that seeks after wealth, as a pearl of great price; to the rest of the people, that stood here upon

[a] See Greswell's Dissertations, vol. ii. p. 302, 303.

the land, and saw the sower at his work, as a field with good seed in it, growing up till the harvest.

And so I come to the several particulars of this parable; as much of it now as lies in those two verses of the text, which I shall pass through very briefly.

I. There are to be seen in it, referring it to Christ's Church here upon the earth, the goodness of God;

II. The malice of the devil;

III. And the negligence of men.

I. For that which belongs to God's part and Christ's; first, as He made all things good at the beginning, so He never made any thing after that is evil. The whole scope of the parable is to clear Him, that He neither sows any evil seed in the world Himself, nor that He employs any servants under Him for that purpose at all. Gen. 1.

Servant-sowers there are, now *Filius hominis* is gone; but if they come into the field with any other seed than He left in store behind Him, He owns them not; nor will His reapers own them, when the time of harvest comes. But then, as every plant which He hath not planted will be rooted up, so every seed that He hath not ministered to the sower, as quick as it is to grow up among the corn, and as fair a shew as it makes in the field now,

. . . . . .

THE END.

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